Imprimatur,

Anto. Saunders R^mo in Christo Patri ac D^no, D^no Gilberto, Archi-Episc. Cantuar. à sac. Dom.

Septemb. 24.
Ex Æd. Lambeth.

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The Romish Horseleech:

OR, AN

Impartial Account

OF THE

Intolerable Charge

OF

POPERY

TO THIS

NATION,

In an Historical Remembrance of some of those Prodigious summs of money heretofore extorted from all degrees during the exercise of the Papal power here.

To which is Annexed an Essay of the Supremacy of the King of *England.*

Quantas divitias comparavit nobis hæc fabula Christi!

Verè enim hortus deliciarum Papis fuit tum Anglia & puteus inexhaustus. Innocent 4. Pap.

London, Printed by *R. W.* for *Ralph Smith*, at the Sign of the Bible in the Piazza of the Royal Exchange in *Cornhill.* 1674.

TO HIS

Honoured Friend A. B.

SIR,

WHen you, and my ſelf, in an exerciſe of Friendſhip, and Converſation, (which I always have eſteemed no ſmall felicity of my life,) have frequently, within a few years laſt paſt, entertained our ſelves, in taking together ſome view of our preſent Times; and ſometimes again making a retroſpect to the Times of our Fore-fathers, in this Kingdom; not forgetting alſo, that ſometimes, by way of proſpect, we have made no leſs

than a kind of Prophets of our ſelves in gueſſing at what might hereafter come to paſs amongſt us, for

Eurip. Μάντις ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.

Him the beſt Prophet we confeſs,
That well of future things can gueſs.

But for what is paſt, we have made ſome remarks upon thoſe viciſſitudes, and changes, which we, and our Anceſtors have ſeen in this Kingdom. And particularly noting the different ſtate, and poſture of the ſame, we concluded that the alteration, and change muſt needs have been very great, as to the moſt important concerns of the Nation, ſince the Power, and Juriſdiction of the Popes of *Rome* was here exauctorated. Upon which, as I remember, we wiſhed ſome particular account of the State, and habit of our Body Politick, when the Influences from *Rome* were prædominant over it: and that, as well in reference to our Head, the King's Majeſty, as alſo to the Members, the People: wherein we deſired ſeriouſly to know, whether the Pope's

Pope's Power was prejudicial to them, or either of them.

In which matter, that I might give some satisfaction to you, and my self also, I set my self to methodize such notes, and instances, as formerly had occurred to me: First, Touching the Property of the People, and how that was invaded by the Romish Practices: And then, touching the Supremacy of the Royal Majesty of the King of *England*, and how that was Eclipsed by the interposition of the Papal Power: And now I have put these Collections together, you see what they amount unto.

I confess the Subjects are transcendant, and vast; and not to be measured with my line. The trivial Controversies amongst Neighbours, about *Meum*, and *Tuum*, frequently puzzle the gravest Judges, but for the Fundamental *Arcana imperii*, he that shall endeavour to poise them, shall sooner discover the weakness of his own Arm, than their weight: I have known the united strenghts of Parliaments put to puffing, and blowing, when they have lifted at them. But, as the

Divines ſay of the Holy Scriptures, though they contain many Myſteries, and things hard to be underſtood; yet there is plainly, and clearly deliver'd in them ſo much as is ſufficient to make men good Chriſtians: So, in the Doctrine of the King's Supremacy, though we cannot reach its utmoſt import, there is yet ſo much of it clearly diſcoverable, as is ſufficient to make all Engliſhmen good Subjects: And as to that, I have entituled my Diſcourſe an *Eſſay* only, not pretending to ſay all that the ſubject affords; and have travelled no farther therein, than our Laws, Statutes, Authorities, and Records have lead me: and I hope that thereby I have produced Demonſtration ſufficient, that our Soveraign is inveſted with a moſt juſt Authority over all his Subjects, and in all Cauſes within his Dominions: and then ſeeing that *Veritas eſt index ſui, & obliqui*, it follows, by all the rules of conſequence, that the Pope's Uſurpations were moſt unjuſt.

For that other concern relating to the People's Property, I took that

 task,

task, at firſt, to have been much the eaſier of the two; that is, that it would not have been very hard, to have comprehended, and given ſome reaſonable eſtimate of thoſe ſumms which heretofore went out of *England* to the Popes, and Court of *Rome*. But after a little dealing therein, I ſtrangely found the account to ſwell beyond all bounds, and ſoon experienced the difficulty to lye as much in the mutiplicity in this, as in the intireneſs in the other. This Grievance was, and could be, adequately known only to our Anceſtors who felt it, but the ſmart is not as yet quite worn off of their Poſterity; and therefore what is offered in this affair, I have thought fit to ſtile, a *Remembrance*, and indeed it ought not to be forgotten.

But now, Sir, I may poſſibly deliver a ſound Paradox; That though it is conceiv'd a very hard thing now to underſtand, as formerly it was to endure, and once thought more hard to remedy, all the miſchiefs which our Fore-fathers ſuffered from the Papal Uſurpation, and Tyranny; yet

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certainly the Cure was at all times not ſo very difficult to have been effected: the Antidote was as near as the Poyſon; and there never wanted a Panpharmacon, which, if duly applyed, would at any time have removed thoſe malignant diſtempers that invaded the Kingdom's conſtitution: And that was, in a word, the Execution of the good Laws. It is the Honour, and Excellency of the Laws of *England*, that no man can have a wrong, or damage, but the Law, if rightly managed, will do him right. Did the Papal Power uſurp, and incroach upon the King's Rights? the inherent vertue of the Common Law declared all to be illegal, and void. Did the Romiſh Practices weaken, and impoveriſh the People? the ſame Law at once arraigned, and damned thoſe Novelties, and grievances; and hence it was that all the ſupervenient Statutes ran but as Declaratory of the old Law. The Law indeed may ſometimes be laid aſleep by connivance, or mangled by ſome contrivance; but it is a true, and good Rule. *Dormit aliquando jus, moritur nunquam:* and when the

Vid. Coke 5. Rep. Cawdrys Caſe.

Law

Law is awakened, and let loose, it soon discovers, and breaks all offences, and offendors.

The incomparable *Spenser*, in his *Faery Queen*, sets forth one Sir *Arthegal*, the Patron of Justice, attended with *Talus*, his Iron man, the Executioner, whom nothing could withstand: Pardon me if I give you his description of this notable Officer. Our renowned Poet relating how the Divine *Astræa*, loathing to sojourn longer amongst wicked men, retired to Heaven from whence at first she came:

But when she parted hence she left her Groom,
An yron man, which did on her attend,
Always to execute her stedfast doom,
And willed him with Arthegall *to wend,*
And do what ever thing he did intend.
His name was Talus, *made of yron mould,*
Immoveable, resistless, without end;
Who in his hand, an yron flail did hold,
With which he threshd out falshood, and did truth unfold.

Faery Queen. lib. 5. Canto. 1. Stanz. 12.

This

This Yron man, when commanded, and ſet on, could rout ſeditious multitudes, deſtroy tyrannick Giants, quell hideous Monſters, and knock down inchanted Caſtles: Our Heroick Laws do no leſs, when by their commanded Officers, they diſſipate ſuperſtitious concourſes, truſs up the Gigantick Jeſuite, drag out the monſtrous Plotters, and batter down that ſecond *Babel* of Confuſion which the ſons of the Earth would be rearing in our Engliſh plain.

What thoughts theſe Collections, and Obſervations will raiſe in you, or others, I can but gueſs at: I am ſure they have ſufficiently diſcover'd to me the drift of the Papal Policy; That is, to eſtabliſh, and uphold a Spiritual Dominion in the World: to effect which, it was neceſſary the Conſciences of men ſhould firſt be inſlaved by ſuperſtition, and ignorance; and then, by the Uſurpation of Temporal Power, and the ingroſſing of Temporal Riches, the work was done; and the Papal intereſt ſo carryed all in the middle, and dark Times, when Kings durſt not exerciſe their juſt authority,

nor

nor the People call that which they had their own: and in this desponden-cy it was, that the Laws were muffled up. But when, towards the latter Ages, the revolution came of Learn-ing, and Knowledge, with a revivíscence and improvement of all Arts, and Sci-ences, and men became tyred with groping so long in the dark, and those great Lights began to dawn in the World, then both Kings, and Peo-ple rouzed up themselves, and their Spirits revived, the shades vanished, the Birds of darkness flew away, and the Beasts of prey retired to their dens: Every man then, with alacrity, ad-dressed himself to his proper Office; Princes took their Scepters in their hands, and swayed them again with-out controul; the People applyed themselves all to their honest callings, and what they got by God's blessing, and their own industry, they injoyed whilest they liv'd, and when they dyed left it to their posterity; which formerly used to be snatch'd away before their faces by the Romish Harpyes.

The conſideration of all which, as it clearly manifeſts the great abuſes, poverty, and ſlavery, which this Nation once, and for a long time ſuffered under the Pope's yoke; ſo it cannot but make us reflect on that proportionable miſchief which ſtill lyes upon thoſe that have not yet ſhak'd him off: with this further obſervation, how an entire ſubjection unto Popery corrupts, and debaſes the ſpirits of men; for nothing is more obvious, than that in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Flanders*, and other Countreys wholly the Popes, as to his ſpiritual raign, the Inhabitants are either the moſt Atheiſtical, debauched, and diſſolute; or thoſe, who with a blind zeal apply themſelves to an obſervance of the Rites of that confuſed, and abſurd Religion, preſently become fond, and ſtupid, giving themſelves up only to admire their Holy Father the Pope, their Confeſſors, and Prieſts, fancying *Rome* to be the true model of the Heavenly *Jeruſalem*, and the Pope, and his Cardinals ruling therein like Chriſt, and his Apoſtles; gazing upon the formality, and gaudineſs of their Church, and intangled with

with a multitude of ridiculous Ceremonies, and Obſervances: all which tends to make them unactive, and unfit for all thoſe generous, and ingenious courſes that bring Honour, and Riches to a Peop'e: When, on the contrary, the Reformed part of the World, being manumitted from ſuch ſlavery, and incumbrances, beat out the Popiſh every where in Trading, and generally excell them in all Arts, and Sciences. And this may be noted in our ſelves, when preſently after the Reformation, the Engliſh grew potent at Sea, ſent forth g eat Colonies and Plantations, maintained traffick, and commerce over the World, and brought home Honour, Plenty, and Riches to the Nation. So the *Netherlanders*, after they had freed themſelves from the Romiſh briers, preſently got good fleeces on their backs, grew rich, and powerful, eclipſing the glory of *Venice*, that once famous Republick, which hath ever ſince been in the wane: *Amſterdam* ſupplanted *Antwerp*: *Flanders* truckled under *Holland*: and the Hanſe Towns generally Proteſtant, outſtrip'd all their

Popiſh

Popiſh Neighbours in wealth, and ſtrength. Whileſt the once great, and dreadful Monarchy of *Spain* is fallen into a Conſumption, ſupported only with a little Indian Gold, which they ſteal home ſometimes. The Auſtrian Eagle hath molted his Feathers. *Portugal* loſing both in their Plantations abroad, and reputation at home. And in thoſe Countreys where Proteſtants and Papiſts are mingled, as in *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, &c. the Proteſtants generally are the Traders, and grow rich, as all Travellers teſtifie.

For, beſides that an addicted zeal to the Romiſh Religion contracts, and debaſeth the ſpirits of men; their Guides endeavour alſo, by all poſſible means, to contain them in a dull, ignorant and formal way; knowing Learning, and knowledge to be their common Enemy, as at once diſcovering, and overthrowing all the ſuperſtructures reared upon their ſandy foundation. But then, what Wealth, what Honour, and Riches do their Clergy, and Orders enjoy? How glorious the Popes; How ſplendid

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the Cardinals; How abounding in Riches, and Titles, all their Relations, Kindred, and Dependants: all ſuck'd from the People. Whileſt to lull, and gratifie the abuſed multitude, they have infinite devices: they have perpetual proviſions for the dull ſouls, in their Cells: the auſtere may take their fill of Diſcipline, and rigour: the impure, and voluptuous, have their conveniences at hand: the lawleſs, who find themſelves too ſtrait lac'd, may be eaſed by Diſpenſations: the credulous ſhall never want Miracles; the fantaſtical viſions; nor the ſuperſtitious Ceremonies; with infinite baubles more, to keep the uneaſie Babes quiet.

Now when any perſon comes to claim, or exerciſe any extraordinary power, or authority, in a place, or ſhall levy, and take up what moneys he pleaſe, he muſt reaſonably expect to have a *Quo Warranto* ſued out againſt him, to which he muſt plead his Title to his Priviledge; and that, I muſt confeſs, hath been very fairly done by the Papal Attorneys in this cauſe, on the behalf of their

Holy Client; and they have drawn their Plea from the written Text of the Divine Law, in this manner;

Gen 1. 16. *God made two great Lights in the firmament; the greater Light to rule the day, and the lesser Light to rule the night*: from which they infer the infallible Dominion of the Church; for Pope Innocent the Third wrote to the Emperour of *Constantinople* thus:

Epist. ad Imp. Decret. lib. 1. de major. & Obed. Tit. 33. *You ought to know* (says he) *that God made two great lights in the Firmament of Heaven, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; both great, but the one greater. To the Firmament of Heaven, that is, the Catholick Church, God made two great Lights, that is, instituted two Powers, the Papal Authority, and the Regal Dignity; but that which is to rule by day, that is over spiritual things, is the greater; but that over carnal things the less, that there may be known to be as much difference between Popes, and Kings, as there is to be between the Sun, and Moon.* And then comes the Gloss upon the Canon Law, which sayes, *Whilest the Earth is seven times bigger than*

than the Moon; and the Sun Eight times bigger than the Earth: the Papal Power must consequently be fifty seven times bigger than the Regal Dignity.

Again, that great Hebrew Prophet sets forth a most exact Image of the Royal Papacy, in *Melchisedeck*, who did prefigure, say they, the Majesty of St. *Peter*, and his Successours, who had *Melchisedeck* for their Prototype: and therefore the Pope must needs be invested with a Royal Priesthood, and armed as well with the Civil, as the spiritual Sword; for if it were otherwise, Christ, and so his Vicegerent, would be a diminutive Lawgiver, and not as *Melchisedeck*, who was at once both King, and Priest. Campanel. de Mon. Hisp. cap. 5.

Further, to fortifie this Plea to a Royal Jurisdiction in the World, they alledge that *Jacob*, and *Esau* were perfect Types of the *Catholicks*, and the *Hereticks*; signifying that the *Catholicks* should abound in Power, and Riches; but the *Calvinists*, and *Lutherans* should be low, and poor: expressed fully in the Salutation

tion of the Angel *Gabriel* to the Virgin *Mary*, *That our Lord the Pope was to rule over the Houſe of* Jacob *for ever, and of his Kingdom there ſhall be no end.* That is, in a word, *The Pope is to govern the World.*

Luke 1. 33.

Another Argument to prove this Plea is fetch'd out of the Eighth *Pſalm*, viz. *Thou haſt Crowned him with glory, and honour. Thou makeſt him to have Dominion over the works of thy hands: thou haſt put all things under his feet. All Sheep, and Oxen, yea and the beaſts of the field. The Fowl of the air, and the Fiſh of the Sea,* &c. By this, they ſay, is clearly meant St. *Peter*, and the power given to him, and his Succeſſors in the See of *Rome*; to whom God hath ſubjected the *Sheep*, that is, the *Chriſtians*; the *Oxen*, that is, the *Jews*, and *Hereticks*; the *Beaſts of the Field*, that is, the *Pagans*; the *Fiſhes of the Sea*, that is, the *Souls in Purgatory*; and the *Fowls of the Heaven*, that is, the *bleſſed Spirits and Angels.*

Pſal. 8. 5, 6.

Anton. Sum. Theol. p. 3. ca. 5.

So much for Dominion, and Command; now for Wealth, and Riches; nothing

nothing is more plain, say they, than the Holy Prophet *Isaiah*, speaking of the Roman Church, *The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising: Then shalt thou see and wonder, and rejoice when the riches of the Sea, and all the substance of the Gentiles shall come unto thee: they shall bring gold and incense. The sons of Strangers shall build up thy walls, and their Kings shall minister unto thee. Thy Gates shall be open day and night, that they may bring unto thee the Riches of all Nations, and their Kings shall be brought: For the Nation and Kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish. The sons of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee, and all they that despised thee shall bow down at the soles of thy feet. Thou shalt suck the milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the breasts of Kings. For Brass I will bring Gold, and for Iron Silver, and for wood Brass, and for Stones Iron.* Isa. 60. A most plain description of the glory, and splendor of the Roman Church: but the dull Hereticks will not understand the meaning: and St. *John*, they

ſay, was ſurpriſed with a μικροψυχία, when he deſcribes the Angel refuſing the honour offered to him, but now dutifully paid to Chriſts Vicar.

Then, when Chriſt told St. *Peter*, that he would make him a *Fiſher of men*, though poſſibly the innocent, and meek Apoſtle, not fully apprehending the full import of that right which thereby was conferred on him, applyed himſelf to a kind of ſpiritual Fiſhing, hunting after ſome myſtical Fiſhes, to incloſe them in the net of ſome inviſible Kingdom in the Heavens; and Cardinal *Pool* interprets the donation thus, *Thou and thy Succeſſors ſhall have dominion over all men, ruling over Kings, and commanding, regulating, and caſting out Emperours*: yet the good Apoſtle's more illuminated ſucceſſors, have now hit upon the true import, and meaning, and conclude that Chriſt did not only give them a power to fiſh for men, but for money alſo, and for that purpoſe conferred on them a Right to Fiſh in all ſecular Ponds, and Rivers; For, *The Kings of the Earth* (ſays Chriſt to *Peter*) *from whom do they receive Tribute?*

Regin. Pole in loc.

Tribute? not certainly from us, for we are free: But go thou to the Sea, and caſt forth a hook, and take up the firſt Fiſh that cometh up; that take, and when thou haſt opened his mouth, thou ſhalt find a piece of money, that take. And by this a great fiſhing right was eſtabliſhed in him, and from him derived to his Succeſſors, that is, to *fiſh in all waters*; now by *waters* the Holy Scriptures intend People, and Nations, and Tongues, and Languages: *And Chriſt commanded* Peter *to launch out into the Deep, and then they incloſed ſuch a multitude of Fiſhes, that the net brake*; and it was very well, and pertinently obſerved by Pope *Innocent* 3. that the meaning of that advice, or command, *Launch out into the deep*, was this, *Go up to* Rome, *which had a vaſt dominion over all People, and from whence they might ſpread their Nets over all the world, to catch all Nations.* And ſo in purſuance of this Right, this Fiſhing Trade for money hath been driven with all poſſible art, and induſtry all the World over, to the great profit of the Roman Merchants.

Serm. 2. in Feſt. Petri.

But in proces of time so it fell out, that several Kings, and States, looking upon these Romish Fishermen as Trespassers, and Intruders; after a due examination, and consideration had of all the Pleas, and allegations in this matter, and canvassing the Pope's Title to a free Piscary in all Waters, not only upon this Globe, but in the Coelestial and Infernal Waters also; his Title was adjudged, and declared to be of no force, or value, and thereupon he was prohibited to *fish* any more in the *British* Ocean, the *Baltick* Sea, the *Lake Lemane*, and in many Rivers of *Germany*; and he was in great danger of being prohibited fishing also in the Neighbouring *Adriatick*: so that what prizes he gets now amongst us, it is by stealth, and now and then a few silly Fishes are drawn, and enticed into his Nets.

But in many places still the Trade is freely driven, with great returns, and profit; how formerly it was managed here, the ensuing Pages will make some discovery; as also how it came to be stop'd. But certainly vast Riches are continually brought in by the Factors of *Rome*, and thereby the Popes, and Cardinals

dinals have mightily inriched Sons, Nephews, Relations, and Kindred, and oftentimes raised great Families, as those of *Borgia*, *Aldobrandini*, *Sfondrati*, *Caraffi*, *Peretti*, and many more. Yet I have lately met with a notable Observation of an intelligent Roman, who with great reason, and experience informs, That seldom, or never any of those Families prosper, but suddenly decay, and wither; And that if any one please but to run over the actions of all the Popes, and the Histories of their Families, he will find it an infallible truth, that they are all, either extinct, or reduced unto a very mean inconsiderable condition; as if Heaven would not endure the Patrimony of St. *Peter* should be made an universal scandal to the World, and be an occasion of eternizing the memory of the Sacriledge they have committed.

Il Nipotismo di Roma. P. 2. lib. 3. fo. 163.

The Observator proceeding to give this further reason, Because, says he, it so pleases God, not to suffer those who have raised themselves unto that greatness out of the Bowels of those in Purgatory, to continue long without

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some signal mark of his displeasure: Heaven is offended to see sacred things transformed into profane: Alms into Theft: Churches into Palaces: Altars into Lordships: Holy things into Comedy, and sport: Divine worship into Adoration of Riches, or rather Adoration into Riches.

And as this was, and is one way still, of employing the Churche's Treasure, *viz.* to raise Families, and inrich *Nephews*, &c. So you see what it comes to at last: And because the Popes are generally chosen old men, their Kindred, and *Nephews*, as their discretion dictates, make the best use of their time, and with all greediness ingross all that they can, whilst the old Gentleman is supported with Cordials: neither are they satisfied with what can be fingered at present, but reversions, and remainders must be secured also. Nay, to above five, or six of Pope *Urban's* little Cozens at one time there were Benefices, and preferments given, while they were yet rocking in their cradles: And sometimes Benefices have been disposed off to those that were not

yet

yet born, for in the Articles of Marriage, not long since, of one of the *Barberines*, with a Lady of the Family of *Colonna*, this was one, That a certain Abby should be given to the First-born Son. Id. fo. 91.

But now, Sir, I cannot but tell you of a certain difficulty, which I have often ruminated upon, being a great inconsistence, as I have conceiv'd, in the *Roman* Church: And that is, That this external Splendor, Glory, and Riches, should by some be urged as an infallible mark of the True Church: To see the Majesty of the Son of God set forth in the exaltation of the Pope his Vicegerent, seated in a glorious Throne, adorned with a Triple Crown, and other suitable habiliments: Emperours holding his stirrop, and laying their necks before him to be trod upon; to see him served at the Table by Kings, and offering his Toe to be kiss'd with great reverence, and devotion by persons of the highest quality; to see him assisted by a conclave of glorious Cardinals, and with them appearing, like the Major, and Aldermen of this

blessed

blessed Corporation: All which, they say, must needs be the Characteristical marks of the true Vicar of the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who, by his Royal *Charter*, hath invested his Substitute, and his Associates, with these Honours. When again, by others in the same Church, and those of great repute amongst them, the true marks, and signs of the Catholick ship thereof are made to consist in wilful Poverty, in going bare-foot, and bare-leg'd, in watchings, fasting, and penances, in going attired in Sackcloth, tatter'd and lowsey rags, in shewing sour, and mortified looks, and bloody backs, affirming, that for an eminence in these severities, it was that the glorious St. *Francis* is now advanced to the vacant Throne of *Lucifer*, the highest place in Heaven, because he was the poorest wretch on Earth. I now say, to which of those so different Characters, or marks, shall we apply our selves, and from whence, seeing they are not yet agreed amongst themselves, shall we take our measures to pitch upon the true Church: whether

whether from Riches, or Poverty; from Honour, or Contempt; from Rule, or Subjection; from a plump, or a macerated looks; from outward gorgeousness, or poorness of spirit: I must confess my self at a stand and shall take a little time to consider of it.

But I will detain you no longer with these speculations: and for these subsequent remarks, which were conceived at your instance, I now put them into your hands; but if you suffer them to fall under the Eyes of any such as shall be startled, or offended at them, I know not how they will help themselves: It is a hard matter to answer Demonstrations, and matters of fact, drawn from the most authentick Registers, and Manifesto's of time, which hath been my work chiefly to exhibite. And if I should have proceeded to have set forth all that train of vanities, and mischiefs which attend Popery, it would have been infinite, and far exceeded my designed limits: besides, it would be no news to you, who

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can far better decipher them than my self. But for this which is already done, I gave it wholly to your dispose, as also is

Your humble Servant, &c.

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AN

Hiſtorical Account,

Or, a Remembrance of ſome of thoſe ſumms of money heretofore going out of *England* to the Papacy, and Court of *Rome*, when the Pope exerciſed his Power here.

I Will not pretend to be as exact in the account, and computation, as the Pope's Officers were in the Collections of thoſe ſumms; when I find a Statute affirming the ways, means, and Inſtruments of drawing the ſame to have been Infinite. I ſhall therefore only profeſs to give you a Remembrance of ſome, for a taſte of all the reſt, *Ex ungue Leonem*, &c. And in purſuance of our purpoſe, we will begin with the *Peter-pence*; which at firſt though but a Donative, or Alms, as ſhall be preſently ſhewed, yet by the inference of a Right from Preſcription of Time, and the manner of exaction, at laſt it became a burden, and an incumbrance to the whole Nation: and

Stat. 25 Hen. 8. cap. 21.

though this was but ſmall, in reſpect of other payments, yet time ſwelled them to a vaſt account.

CHAP. I.

Peter-pence.

Cowell Interp. in verbo. Spelm. Gloſſ. Matt. Weſtm. in An. 727. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 24. Antiquit. Britt. fo. 58. 69.

Peter-pence, Denarii Sancti Petri, call'd in the Saxon Tongue, *Romefeoh*, the Fee of *Rome:* and ſometimes alſo *Romeſcot*, and *Rome-peny*, was, if we may ſo properly term it, a Tribute of Alms, given by the ancient Saxon Kings to the See of *Rome*. Some ſay that *Ina*, a King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, was the firſt Donor about the year 720. at ſuch time as he was in Pilgrimage at *Rome*. Others ſay that *Offa*, a King of the *Mercians*, firſt gave them, about the year 790. But probably the truth may be, and *Matt. Weſtm.* inſinuates no leſs, that theſe being Kings of ſeveral Kingdoms in the Saxon Heptarchy, each of them might be the firſt Donor within their reſpective Dominions.

Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. fo. 311. Acts and Mon. fol. 103.

The occaſion upon which *Offa* gave the ſame, is ſtoried thus: *Ethelbert* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, a vertuous Prince, being perſwaded by his Council to *marry*, againſt his own inclination, went to *Offa*, in deſign to obtain his Daughter *Athilrid* to Wife: but King *Offa*'s wife being averſe to the match, in treacherous manner cauſed *Ethelbert* to be ſlain; whereupon *Offa*, in ſome ſort to expiate

piate that horrid act, gave the *Peter-pence* to St. *Peter's* Church in *Rome*. But at last, by *Adelwolph*, this tributary Alms was ratified, and given throughout the whole Kingdom. Chro. Jo. Brompt. Coll. 776.

The Charter whereby King *Offa* gave the *Peter-pence* remains ſtill extant under ſeal, as Sr. *Edw. Coke* affirms; which if true, it was not heeded by ſuch as have affirmed, that the firſt ſealed Charter that we have in *England*, is that of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, upon his founding of *Weſtminſter* Abby; and that in imitation of the *Normans*, amongſt whom he had been educated. But Sr. *Edw. Coke* adds further, that the ſealing of Charters, and Deeds is much more ancient than ſome have imagined; and to that purpoſe, beſides that ſealed Charter of King *Offa*, he makes inſtance in a Charter of King *Edwin*, Brother of King *Edgar*, bearing date *An. Dom.* 956. under his own ſeal, with the ſeal alſo of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to it; and this long before the *Normans* entrance. But this by the way only. 1. Inſtit. fo. 7. a. W. Dugdale Antiq. of Warw. 133. 673. Vid. Matt. Paris in vita Robrti Abb. S. Albani. fo. 80.

For the *Peter-pence*, which in the Saxon Laws are often termed *Regis Eleemoſyna*, it was a Penny for every Houſe in which was Twenty Penny-worth of any kind of goods, to be paid yearly on *Lammas* day. And in K. *Edwards* Laws there is a very ſtrict conſtitution for the payment of them: ſo that in time it was eſteemed, *conſuetudo quaſi Apoſtolica*, as *Matt. Weſtm.* hath it, *à qua neque Rex, neque Archiepiſcopus, Abbas, vel* Sim Dunelm. Coll. fo. 150. Stow Annal. fo. 26. Lambert fo. 78. Jornall. Col. 371.

Prior, aut aliquis in regno immunis erat. Only I find that the Monaſtery of St. *Alban's*, in honour of that Proto-Martyr, to whoſe memory it was founded, was alone quit, as to that charge; and that by the Indulgence of King *Offa*, as *Mat. Weſtm.* relates.

Camb. Britt. fo. 410. Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. fo. 311.

This payment, as before is ſaid, at firſt, and for a long time, was termed and eſteemed, as indeed it was, a Tribute of Alms; being ſtyled in the Laws of *Canutus*, *Larga Regis benignitas*; and in thoſe of the Confeſſor, *Regis Eleemoſyna:* and ſo it was received alſo by the Court of *Rome*, as Pope *Paſchalis* the 2. to one of our Kings, *Eleemoſyna beati Petri, prout audivimus, ita doloſe collecta eſt, ut neque mediam ejus partem hactenus Eccleſia Romana ſuſceperit.* And *Sim. Dunelmenſis* thus, *Hoc anno E. helhelm comes Wilton. Eleemoſynam Regis Elfredi detulit Romam.* And all this importing no more, but that Charity was the firſt foundation of it; and the Pope to have been the King's Beads-man as it were, and not the King the Popes Homager. Yet the continuance occaſioned the pretence of an abſolute Tribute: and *Polydor Vergil* the Hiſtorian, and ſometimes the Pope's Collector of the *Peter-pence* here, improperly terming it *Vectigal*, *S. Creſſy* is ſo ingenuous as to give him a reproof for ſo doing: yet in that notion it was exacted a long time by the Pope's Officers: But yet upon ſome diſtaſte, ſome of our Kings would ſometimes *adventure* to

Leges Canut. in Jornal. 920.

Epiſt. Hen. 1. in Eadmer. fo. 113.

Sim. Dunelm. Coll. fo. 150.

Pol. Verg. lib. 4.

S. Creſſy Church Hiſt. li. 29. ca. 15.

deny

deny payment; as King *Edward* the Third did once in his time: the reaſon whereof is ſtoried to be this, *viz.* when in his raign was the great conteſt between the two Kings, for the Crown of *France*, and many of the Popes then reſiding at *Avignion* in the Territories of *France*, being moſt of them French-men, did too partially take part with the French King: So that after the great and famous victory obtained by the Black Prince, at the Battle of *Poitiers*, this was ſet up in *Vienna*, and ſeveral other places, and after grew into a kind of Proverb, *viz.* Polychron. Stow. Mat. Weſtm. &c.

Ore eſt le Pape devenu Franceys,
Et Jheſu eſt devenu Angleys:
Ore ſerra veou que ſerra plus,
Le Pape, ou Jheſus. Hen. de Knigl ton Coll. ſo. 2615.

id eſt.

The Pope is now all Frenchify'd:
And Jeſus on the Engliſh ſide:
And now you ſee which of theſe two,
The Pope, or Jeſus, moſt can do.

And therefore, becauſe the Popes took part with the French, our King *Edw.* 3. commanded the *Peter-pence* ſhould be no longer paid: which Prohibition all that King's time continued; till the raign of his next Succeſſor King *Rich.*2. And ſome offers being then made to gather them again, at a Parliament a Petition was preferr'd, that it might

be declared by Parliament, whether the charge called *Rome-penny*, ſhould be levied of the Commons, and paid to the Pope's Collector, or no: and the Anſwer to it was, *Soit fait come devant ad eſte uſe*; and ſo they were reviv'd again by that weak King. But yet it was Reſolv'd by the Caſuiſts of thoſe times, of which *John Wickliffe* was one, and of great eſteem, and ſo repreſented to that King *Rich.* 2. That in caſe of neceſſity, ſuch payments as were but in nature of Alms, might lawfully be withholden, according to that Rule of the Divines, *Extra caſus neceſſitatis, & ſuperfluitatis, Eleemoſyna non eſt in præcepto.* But the payment of them, *de facto*, being indulged by that King, as is before ſaid, I do not find but they ſo continued till the raign of K. *Hen.* 8. in whoſe time the above named *Pol. Vergil*, an Italian, Archdeacon of *Wells*, was Collector of the *Peter-pence* in *England*, as he, in his Hiſtory teſtifies.

Rot. Parl. 1. R. 2 nu. 84.

Pol. Vergil Hiſt. fo. 90.

But one thing is to be noted, that though the payment of them continued ſo long time, and the Popes had conſtantly their Collectors here: yet the Pope could not alter the accuſtomed proportion, nor the manner of gathering of them: for when, in the time of K. *Edw.* 2. *Rigaudus*, the Popes Officer went about to make ſome alteration in that, he was ſeverely prohibited by the King. And at laſt, amongſt other things, theſe *Peter-pence* were totally taken away by K. *Hen.* 8. of which *Sleiden* takes ſpecial notice.

Acts & Mon. Ed. 2. f. 339.

Stat. 25 Hen. 8. cap. 21. Sleid. com. lib. 9.

notice. And although Queen *Mary* ſet her ſelf to put all things in ſuch plight, in reference to the concerns of *Rome*, as they were in the beginning of her Fathers time, yet the *Peter-pence* were never reſtor'd in all her raign: For Pope *Paul* the 4. receiving the Engliſh Ambaſſadours which came from Q. *Mary*, urged much to them the duty, and neceſſity that lay upon the Queen to make reſtitution of all Church-lands, Revenues, and Goods, that her Father K. *H.* 8. had taken away: and in particular told them, That the *Peter-pence* ought to be paid; and that, according to the ancient cuſtome, he would ſend a Collector for that purpoſe: He alſo told them, that he himſelf had performed that charge three years in *England*, where he was much edified by ſeeing the forwardneſs of the People to depoſite, and eſpecially thoſe of the meaner ſort: further preſſing, that they could not hope St. *Peter* would open the Gates of Heaven to them, ſo long as they uſurp'd his Goods on Earth. The relation of all this much quickned the Queens zeal for reſtitution, but her ſhort raign, and ſome other impediments prevented her intentions: and ſo the *Peter-pence* vaniſht. Only whereas ſome Monaſteries anciently collected ſome proportions of them, and then anſwered ſo much to the Pope's Collector, in continuance of time it became fixed as a Rent, or duty to the ſaid Monaſteries, which afterwards devolving to the Crown, and from thence by ſale, or grant

Antiquit. Brit. fo. 302.

Hiſt. Concil. Trident. fo. 392.

Sr. Rog. Twiſden. Hiſt. vindication. cap. 4.

to others, with as ample profits, as the Religious Houſes had enjoyed the ſame; it is conceived that at this day they are in ſome places paid, as appendant to the Mannors which belonged to ſome ſuch Houſes, and in ſome places by the name of Smoak-money. And further we may note, that theſe *Peter-pence* were ſometimes called *Præſtation* money, collected by ſome Arch-deacons, who handed the ſame, ſometimes to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and ſometimes immediately to the Pope's Collector General; as appears by a certain Inſtrument diſcovered by that excellent Antiquary Mr. *Dugdale*, ſetting forth ſome part of the Office of an Arch-deacon.

Antiq. of Warw. fo. 126.

For the yearly value, or ſumm of theſe *Peter-pence*, what they did amount unto, through the whole Kingdom, the very manner of the duty, and collection, ſpeaks them uncertain: yet it ſeems there was a rate ſet upon every Dioceſs, as appears by one of the Pope's Bulls for that purpoſe, ſaid to be *Gregory* 5. the Bull it ſelf is pointed to by Sr. *Hen. Spelman*; but the rates we have ſpecified by the other learned Knight from an old Manuſcript belonging to the Church of *Chicheſter*, as alſo by others.

Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. fo. 313. Sr. Rog. Twiſden fo. 77. Selden Analect. lib. 2. cap. 3. Acts & Mon. in Ed. 2.

Epiſcop.

Episc.	l.	s.	d.
Cant.	07	18	00
London.	10	10	00
Roffenſ.	05	10	00
Norwit.	21	00	00
Elienſ.	05	00	00
Lincoln.	42	00	00
Ciceſtr.	08	00	00
Hereford.	06	00	00
Sarum.	17	00	00
Winton.	17	06	08
Exon.	09	00	00
Wigor.	10	05	00
Bath.	12	00	00
Covent.	10	00	00
Eborac.	11	10	00

There it ſeems were the certain rates to be anſwered to the Pope's Exchequer; the overplus to remain to the Collectors, or it may be Farmers, like thoſe of our Exciſe, or Hearthmony, *ſit parvis componere*, &c. Whileſt the People were racked to pay the utmoſt penny; for upon reaſonable compute, the *Peter-pence* could amount to no leſs than 7500 *l. per annum.*

Know we muſt alſo, that King *Athelwolph* gave a yearly penſion to *Rome* of 300 *marks*, thus to be imploy'd, To buy Candles for St. *Peter* 100 *m.* To buy Candles for St. *Paul*, 100 *m.* For a free gift to the Pope, 100. *m.* This

An. Dom 852. Will. Malm ſ. b. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Matth. Westm. in An. 855. Florent. Wigorn. in An. 857.

This by some Writers hath been confounded with the Peter-pence, agreeing so near with the rates above; but certainly they were several charges: and this though small, yet being paid many years, the *sum. total.* could not choose but be very great: and

An. 45. Ed. 3.

once *John* of *Gaunt* opposed the payment, being demanded by Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth.

CHAP. II.

First Fruits, and Tenths.

FIrst Fruits, *Primitiæ*, are the Profits of every Spiritual Living for one year: and these antiently, and often were called *Annates*, because the rates of First Fruits of Spiritual Livings is after one years profit of the same.

Tenths, *Decimæ*, are the Tenth part of the First Fruits, or yearly value of all Spiritual Livings: And these were antiently paid to the Popes, as in *England*, so throughout all Western *Christendome*: For the Pope, as *Pastor Pastorum*, claimed *Decimas Decimarum*.

Now though these were of a later date than the *Peter-pence*, yet by whom they were first imposed, or in whose time first taken, there is much difference amongst the Historians. *Theod. à Niem.* Secretary to Pope *Gregory* the eleventh sayes that *Boniface*

De Schism. inter Urban. 6, &c. lib. 2. cap. 9.

face the ninth about the year 1399. reserved first the First Fruits of vacant Churches, and Abbies: with whom agrees *Platina*, in the life of that *Boniface*, saying, *Primus Annatarum imposuit usum*; though he confesseth also, that some refer their Original unto Pope *John* the two and twentieth, of which opinion is *Polydor Vergil*, though he intimates also, as if some thought them of a higher time. But indeed our own Countrey-men assign their beginning here to that Pope *John* the two and twentieth: among whom *Walsingham*, speaking of that Pope, saith thus, *Summus Pontifex reservavit Cameræ sue primos fructus beneficiorum omnium in Anglia per triennium vacantium.* And *Ranulph. Cestrensis* thus, *Johannes 22. Beneficiorum per mortem, seu resignationem vacantium, sive per translationem, primos fructus reservavit.* But howsoever, or by whomsoever these became first impos'd, after the Popes had been absolutely, and throughly seized of them, then they claimed them, *Jure Divino*, by example of the High Priest amongst the *Jews*, who had Tenths from the *Levites*. But *Pol. Vergil* sings another note, in the place above referr'd to, insinuating the maintenance of the Pope's grandeur to be the first rise of them, and that this was one of the fairest flowers in the Triple Crown: but when the payment of them had been continued some competent time, it was politickly done, upon any questioning, to assign them a Divine Original, which was sure

Platina in vita Bonifac. 9.

Polyd. Vergil. de Inv. r. rerum lib. 8. cap 2.

An. D. 1316.

Tho. Walsingh. in Ed 2. fo. 84.

Lib. 7. cap. 42. in H. Knighton Coll. fo. 2534.

Numb. 18. 6.

to

to satisfie such as used to take the Pope's word for far greater matters.

The payment of these, with other great summs (of which more anon) so strangely impoverish'd the Kingdom; that notwithstanding that allegation, or pretence of Divine Right, the Kings of *England* made no scruple sometimes to forbid the payment of them; as K. *Ed.* 3. once discharged the Pope's Nuntio from collecting the First Fruits, *&c.* and many Prohibitions were granted against the Popes Collectors, on complaint made by the grieved *Commons* in *Parliament*, as appears by the several Collections thereof made by the Lord *Coke*: and in one Statute made to remedy that grievance, it was termed a *Horrible Mischief*, and *Damnable Custome*: and at another Parliament it was call'd a *Very Novelty*.

2 Ed. 3. Clauſ. Rot. m. 4. 25 Ed. 3. 47 Ed. 3.

Coke Juriſd. of Courts, cap. 14 Star. 2 H. 4. cap. 1. 1 Ric. 2.

But herein did the policy of the Court of *Rome* notably appear, that sometimes, when the Kingdom complain'd of its burdens, and the Kings in some exigency calling for the Subjects Aids, and thereupon the Pope's revenue in danger of a temporary, if not a total stop, the Popes would in such a juncture, and perhaps in a frolick of bounty, concede or assign the First Fruits, *&c.* for some time to the King, as for one year, or more, as the occasion seem'd to require: and in particular, Pope *Urban* gave them to King *Richard* the second to aid him against *Charls* the *French* King. And this project serv'd excellently well, both to habituate the

Pol. Vergil. Hist. lib. 20. fo. 405.

the People to payment, and to win the Kings for their continuance, to whom they might be thus useful in any case of extremity. But the policy of after Parliaments went a reach beyond that of the Popes: for as a perpetual addition to the revenues of the Crown, they were by a Statute in the time of King *Henry* the eighth given to the King, his Heirs, and Successors for ever. And then for the ordering of these First Fruits, and Tenths, there was a Court erected *An.* 32 *Hen.* 8. but this Court was dissolv'd again *An.* 1 *Mariæ*; but King *Philip*, and Queen *Mary* gave them not again to the Pope, but by Authority of Parliament discharged the Clergy thereof.

Stat 26 Hen. 8. cap. 3.

Stat. 32 Hen. 8. cap. 45.

Afterwards by a Statute, in the first year of Queen *Elizabeth*, they were revived, and reduced again to the Crown, yet was the Court never restored; but the First Fruits, and Tenths were ordered to be within the Rule, Survey, and Government of the Court of Exchequer, and a new Office, and Officer created, *viz.* a *Remembrancer* of the First Fruits, and Tenths of the Clergy, who taketh all compositions for them, and maketh out Process against such as pay not the same. And now they are to be paid in such manner as is directed, and appointed in, and by the said Statutes of 26 *Hen.* 8. and 1 *Eliz.* The *Stat.* 26 *Hen.* 8. appointing that every Spiritual person shall pay, or secure by Bond, his First Fruits before his actual possession of his Benefice: and that an Obligation for First Fruits shall be of like force as

Stat. 1 Eliz. 4.

a Statute

a Statute Staple: and that no more ſhall be taken for ſuch an Obligation than eight pence, and for an Acquittance four pence: and if any perſon ſhall be convict, by Preſentment, Verdict, Confeſſion, or Witneſs, before the Lord Chancellor, or other Commiſſioners, to have entred upon any Spiritual Living before compoſition, or payment, he ſhall forfeit the double value of the Firſt Fruits: And if Tenths, being due, ſhall not be paid within forty dayes after demand thereof made by the Biſhop, or his Officers, and thereupon certificate made under Seal of the Biſhop, or Collector, the party making default ſhall be deprived, *ipſo facto*, of that one Dignity or Benefice. Beſides, it is to be remembred, that Vicarages not exceeding Ten Pounds *per annum*, and Parſonages not exceeding Ten Marks *per annum*, ſhall not pay Firſt Fruits, but all are to pay Tenths.

Stat. 3 Ed. 6. cap. 20.

Stat. 1 Eliz. 4.

Then, for the valuation of Eccleſiaſtical Livings, we are to know, that antiently they were valued by a Taxation Book made *An.* 20 *Ed.* 1. which ſtill remaineth in the Exchequer: But then another Book of Taxation was made *An.* 26 *Hen.* 8. kept in that Court alſo; and according to this latter Taxation are the values of Eccleſiaſtical Livings computed for the payment of the Firſt Fruits, and Tenths: And ſo much as every Living is there valued, ſo much it is ſaid to be in the Kings Books; and ſo much muſt be paid for Firſt Fruits. Yet every Spiritual perſon, at his Compoſition, and entring into Specialties

Coke 4 Inſtit. fo. 120.

Specialties to pay the same, shall have deduction of the Tenth part thereof, and that in respect of the Tenth, as shall be by him paid that year; for by the *Stat.* 27 *Hen.* 8. none shall pay Tenths the same year that they pay First Fruits, therefore they are deducted, as aforesaid. Stat. 27 Hen. 8. cap. 8.

The way now of Composition for First Fruits, is for the Parson Presented, Admitted, *&c.* with sufficient Sureties, to enter into Four Bonds, each conditioned for the payment of the Fourth part of the First Fruits (deducting the Tenth, as aforesaid,) the first Bond payable at half a years end: the second Bond at a Twelve-moneths end: the third at a year and halfs end: and the fourth at two years end: and so the party hath two years time to pay the First Fruits. And then by the Statute of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 4. it is appointed, That if an Incumbent continue in his Benefice half a year after the last avoidance, and then dye, or be legally outed, before the end of the year, then he, his Executors, Administrators, or Sureties, shall pay only a Fourth part of the First Fruits: If he live out the year, and dye, or be outed within six moneths after the year, then only half the First Fruits shall be paid: If he live out the year and half, and dye, or be outed within two years, then only three quarters thereof shall be paid: But if he live out two whole years, then the whole First Fruits are to be paid: these Bonds being of like force as a Statute Staple. And thus the First Fruits, and

and Tenths ſtand at this day. Concerning which it may be further noted, that the Biſhop of *Norwich* antiently had, and enjoyed by Preſcription the Firſt Fruits within his Dioceſs of all Churches after every avoidance: as alſo had the Archdeacon of *Richmond*, within his Archdeaconry; but theſe alſo were given to the Crown, by the ſaid Statute of 26 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 3.

Fitzherbert Tit. Juriſdiction 22. 19 Ed 3.

What great ſumms were antiently paid to the Popes upon theſe accounts, by the rule of proportion may be gueſſed at: but no other certainty known, but that they were very great, as by the complaints about them, and the impoveriſhing of the Realm by that means, of which you ſhall hear more, may be obſerved. And what every Biſhop paid to the See of *Rome* at his entrance, for Firſt Fruits, I find thus particularized, *viz.*

Canterbury is rated in the Kings Books at the ſumm of 2816 *l.* 17 *s.* 9 *d.* and uſed to pay to the Pope, for Firſt Fruits 10000 *Florens*, beſides 5000. for his Pall.

Godw. de Præſ. Angl. Note, that every *Florin* contained 4 *s.* 6 *d.* of our money. *Dacat* 8 *s.*

London is valued at 1119 *l.* 8 *s.* 4 *d.* and uſed to pay to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 3000 *Florens.*

Wincheſter is valued at 2491 *l.* 9 *s.* 8 *d. ob.* and paid to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 12000 *Ducats.*

Ely is valued at 2134 *l.* 18 *s.* 5 *d. ob. q.* and paid to the Pope 7000 *Ducats.*

Lincoln is valued in the Kings Books 894 *l.* 18 *s.* 1 *d. ob.* and paid to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 5000 *Ducats.*

Coventry

Coventry and *Lichfield* rated in the Exchequer at 559 *l.* 17 *s.* 7 *d. ob. q.* and paid to the Pope, some say 1733 *Ducats*, others but 300.

Salisbury is valued at 1385 *l.* 5 *s. ob.* and paid to the Pope upon every vacancy 4500 *Ducats*.

Bath and *Wells* is valued at 533 *l.* 15 *d.* and paid to the Pope at the ingress of every new Bishop only 430 *Florens*. *Quod miror*, saith Bishop *Godwin*, in regard it was esteem'd one of the richest Sees in *England*.

Exeter, by a late valuation set in the time of King *Ed.* 6. is valued at 500 *l.* and yet paid heretofore to the Pope for First Fruits 6000 *Ducats*.

Norwich valued at 899 *l.* 8 *s.* 7 *d. q.* and used to pay to the Pope upon every vacancy 5000 *Ducats*.

Worcester valued at 1049 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d. ob. q.* and paid to the Pope for First Fruits 2000 *Florens*.

Hereford valued at 768 *l.* 10 *s.* 10 *d. ob. q.* and paid to the Pope for First Fruits 1800 *Florens*.

Chichester valued at 677 *l.* 15 *d.* and used to pay to the Pope 333 *Ducats*, as an Income.

Rochester valued at 385 *l.* 3 *s.* 6 *d.* and paid to the Pope for First Fruits 1300 *Florens*.

St. *David*'s valued in the Kings Books at 426 *l.* 22 *d. ob.* and paid to the Pope 1500 *Florens*.

Landaff valued at 154 *l.* 14 *s.* 1 *d.* and paid to the Pope for First Fruits 700 *Florens.*

Bangor valued in the Exchequer at 132 *l.* 16 *s.* 4 *d. ob.* and paid to the Pope for First Fruits 126 *Florens.*

St. *Asaph* valued at 131 *l.* 16 *s.* 4 *d. ob.* and paid for First Fruits to the Pope 126 *Florens.*

York Archbishoprick payes to the King for First Fruits 1609 *l.* 19 *s.* 7 *d.* and paid to the Pope 10000 *Ducats*, besides 5000 for the Pall.

Durham valued at 1821 *l.* 17 *d.* and used to pay to the Pope for First Fruits 9000 *Florens.*

Carliſle valued at 531 *l.* 4 *s.* 11 *d. ob.* and used to pay to the Pope on every avoidance 1000 *Florens.*

What was paid to the Pope for Spiritual Livings, other than Bishopricks, we must conclude it uncertain, though certainly very great; part whereof, as also from the Bishopricks, was annual, and certain, as the Tenths; and part casual, and uncertain, as the First Fruits, depending on the uncertain deaths of Incumbents, and such as did succeed them.

But, besides these ordinary, and known rates, and summs, payable as Fines, or Incomes, at first entrance; and the annual summs proportioned from them as aforesaid; it commonly, and generally hapned, that some other vast summs extraordinary went

to

to *Rome*, before any Bishop could be absolutely setled in his See; and that upon Appeals, and several other accounts, of which we will here give a few instances.

By the death of *Geffrey Plantagenet* the Arch-bishoprick of *York* becoming void, *Simon Langton*, Brother of *Stephen Langton*, was chosen Archbishop by Capitular Election: but because *Stephen* was fallen into the Pope's displeasure, and suspended; the Pope refused to confirm *Simon*, and sent order they should choose another: whereupon *Walter Gray* was pitch'd upon, and recommended to the Pope's approbation: with this commendation, that he had never known woman in all his life: At which the Pope swore by St. *Peter*, Virginity was in those dayes a great vertue, and he should be the man. But the private agreement was, that *Walter* should give the Pope ten thousand pound Sterling: for payment whereof he became bound in the Court of *Rome*: which cast him into such a debt, that he was necessitated to be continually scraping, to discharge his bond: and for that reason, as my Author sayes, the Bishop is by all Historians charactered to have bin a most niggardly, and penurious man. Godw. in vita Walteri Gray, Ebrac.

At another time, the Bishoprick of *Winchester* being void, the Monks made choice of one *William de Raley*, alias *Radley*, but altogether against the mind of the King, who intended another: and therefore the King sent his Messengers, *Theobald* a Monk of Matt. Paris in An 1243. H. 3.

Weſtminſter, and Mr. *Alexander* a Lawyer, with a great ſumm of money to *Rome*, to get the election vacated; and commanded the Magiſtrates to ſhut the Gates of *Wincheſter* againſt him: whereby *Raley* finding himſelf repulſed, he curſes, and interdicts the whole City of *Wincheſter*, and poſts away to *Rome*; where, in deſpite of the King, he gets his election confirmed, upon the tender of eight hundred marks, of which the Pope, as the Hiſtorian ſayes, would not abate him one penny: whereby he was conſtrained alſo to live a miſer, and in debt, all his dayes.

Acts and Mon. Tom. 1. fo. 259.

The Biſhoprick of *Durham* being once vacant, and ſeveral putting in for the place, King *Henry* the third, laboured what he could, that Mr. *Lucas* his Chaplain ſhould be elected: but the Monks, ſlighting the King, made choice of one *William Scot*: who runs preſently to *Rome*, for confirmation: and the King preſently ſends after him the Biſhop of *Lichfield*, and the Prior of *Lanthony*, to ſollicite againſt *Scot*: but after a long tugging, and expence of all their money on both ſides, it was determined that a third man, *viz.* *Richard Poor*, ſhould have the Biſhoprick.

Matt. Paris in An. 1228. fo. 350. 355. Antiquit. Brit. in vita Richard. Maj.

After the death of *Stephen Langton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Monks made choice of *Walter de Hempſham* to ſuccede him: at which the King then being diſpleaſed, *Walter* haſts away to *Rome*, as the uſe then was, for his confirmation: and the King preſently ſends after him, as his Proctors, the

the Bishops of *Coventry*, and *Rochester*: who appearing before the Pope, complained grievously of the misdemeanor of the Monks, in making choice of that man, as being of no experience suitable to that Dignity: but of mean learning: one of a debauched, and scandalous life, having gotten several Bastards upon a Nun: and for his extraction, his Father had bin condemn'd, and hang'd for Theft; as himself had also deserv'd, having bin a Ringleader amongst Rebels, and Traitors. But all this would not satisfie the Pope, to set him aside, until the King ingaged the Pope should have a Disme, or the Tenth part of all the moveable goods, both of Clergy, and Laity, throughout *England*, and *Ireland*: which granted, the election of *Walter Hempsham* was declared null, and *Richard Wethershed* promoted to the place. Polychron. l. 7. cap. 34.

The next Successor to *Richard Wethershed* was *Edmund*, between whom, and the Monks of *Rochester*, a great contest happen'd, about the election of one *Richard Wendover* to be their Bishop: whereupon the Bishop goes to *Rome*, and the Covent send their Proctors, and these carrying the most money got the cause, and *Edmund* condemn'd by the Pope in 1000. Marks. Antic. Brit. & Godw. in vita Edmundi.

The Bishoprick of *Chichester* being once void, the Canons there elected one *Robert Passelew*, to gratifie the King, who had a great kindness for the man: but others stomaching Matt. Paris in Hen. 3.

maching him, means was made at *Rome* to have his election quashed; and one *Richard de la Wich* to have the place: and thereupon all parties run to *Rome* with money, Bribes, complaints, and recriminations; all which being heard, and the money taken, the King's man was fob'd off, and *Wich* setled in the See. The story is at large in *Matthew Paris*; and a multitude more of like nature might here be exhibited; but these shall suffice, with this averrement, that seldom any election went so cleverly off, but something extraordinary came to the Pope, besides what was certain by the first Fruits. From which we proceed to payments of other natures.

CHAP. III.

Legatine Levies.

Stat. 25 Hen. 8. cap. 21.

THE Statute of 25 *Henry* 8. Providing that no more summs of money shall be pay'd to the Bishop of *Rome*, begins with recital, how the subjects of this realm had for many years been greatly decayed, and impoverished by intolerable exactions of great summs of money, taken and claimed by the Bishop of *Rome*, called the Pope, and the *See* of *Rome*, as well in *Pensions*, *Censes*, *Peter-pence*, *Procurations*, Fruits, suits for *Provisions*, and *Expeditions of Bulls*, for Archbishopricks, and Bishopricks, and for

for *Delegacies*, and *Reſcripts* in *Cauſes* of *Contentions*, and *Appeals*, *Juriſdictions Legantine*, *Diſpenſations*, *Licences*, *Faculties*, *Grants*, *Relaxations*, Writs of *perinde valere*, *Rehabilitations*, *Aboliſions*, and other *infinite ſorts*, *&c.* as the words of the Statute are: I cannot now pretend to enumerate, or ſpecifie them all, when the Statute declares them to be infinite; and therefore we ſhall content our ſelves to point but at ſome of them; beginning with the

Legatine Levies, as I may call them: And theſe were ſumms of money exacted, and levyed upon the King's Subjects throughout the whole Kingdom, by *Legats*, and Officers for that purpoſe deputed by the *Pope*. And theſe were called for, as often as the Popes pretended a need of them; for the Court of *Rome* did inculcate, and would have the world to believe, That being a Mother, ſhe ought to be relieved by her Children. Now the firſt Extraordinary Contribution raiſed for the Pope in this Kingdom of this kind, appears to have bin about the year 1183. when Pope *Lucius* the third having ſome quarrel with the Citizens of *Rome*, ſent to King *Henry* the ſecond, *poſtulans ab eo*, *& à clericatu Angliæ auxilium*, requiring Aid from him, and his Clergy: whereupon, *Conſuluit Rex Epiſcopos ſuos*, *& Clerum Angliæ de petitione Summi Pontificis. Cui Epiſcopi & Clerici conſuluerunt*, *ut ipſe ſecundum voluntatem*

Vid. Matthew Weſtm. Flor. Hiſt. in An. 1245, 1246. &c. Matt. Paris. Polychron. &c.

Matth. Paris An. 1226. fo. 328.

Rog. Hoveden P. Poſterior, fo. 622.

tatem ſuam, & honorem, faceret auxilium D. Papæ, tam pro ſeipſo, quam pro illis: quia tolerabilius eſſet, & plus placeret eis, quod D. Rex, ſi vellet, accepiſſet ab eis auxilii recompenſationem, quam ſi permiſiſſet Nuncios D. Papæ in Angliam venire ad capiendum de eis auxilium, quia ſi aliter fieret, poſſet verti in conſuetudinem ad regni ſui detrimentum. Adquievit Rex conſilio ſuorum, & fecit auxilium magnum D. Papæ in auro, & argento. The King conſulted the Biſhops, and Clergy, about the Popes requeſt; to whom the Biſhops, and Clergy returned, That the King might, if he ſo pleaſed, and for his honor, ſend aid to the Pope, as well for himſelf, as for them: becauſe it would be more tolerable, and more acceptable to them, for his Majeſty, if he pleaſed, to take a Compenſation from them for his Aid, than that he ſhould permit the Pope's Officers to come into *England*, to receive it of them, which might turn to a cuſtom detrimental to the Kingdom. To this counſel the King adher'd, and ſent a great Aid to the Pope in Gold, and Silver; as *Rog. Hoveden* hath at large related the Carriage of that buſineſs: In which ſeveral paſſages are very remarkable; as, that the King did, in matters that concern'd the Pope, conſult with the Engliſh Church, and follow'd their advice: and then the care, and circumſpection of the Clergy, to avoid miſchievous conſequences for the future: and that not without very

very good cause, for the Popes were so prone to be busie, and tampering in this matter of money, that afterward in the time King *Edward* the first, he prohibited the Clergy from giving any thing to the King without his leave first obtained, and that under pain of the great excommunication: a great presumption this, but without any considerable effect to the purpose intended.

Papa misit bullas inhibitatorias, quod nulla persona Ecclesiastica daret seculari personæ contributionem ullam absq; licentia speciali a Romana curia concessa in hac parte. Henry de Knighton Coll. 2489.

But notwithwanding the before mention'd caution, the Popes gained much upon the Clergy, afterward, though the King and Temporal Lords oftentimes prov'd sturdy: For Pope *Gregory* the ninth, *An. D.* 1229. demanded a Tenth of the moveables both of the Lay, and of the Clergy; to which the Lords would not consent, *Nolentes Baronias vel Laicas possessiones Rom. Ecclesiæ obligare*, but the Clergy with some grumbling pay'd it. And eleven years after, he demanded a fifth part of the goods of the Clergy; upon which great debate was taken, the Clergy appealing to the King, that they held their Baronies of the King, and could not charge them without his consent; that having before given a Tenth, this again of a Fifth might create a custom; with divers other weighty reasons: But all would not do, for the King was not against it, and the Archbishop, for his private ends, beginning

Matt. Paris fo. 361, 362.

Matt. Paris An. 1240. fo. 536.

to

to depoſite, all were drawn in at laſt to pay; which occaſion'd that complaint the year following, That there remain'd not ſo much treaſure in the Kingdom, as had in three years bin extorted from it, (the veſſels, and ornaments of the Church excepted.)

Id. fo. 549.

But notwithſtanding that reluctancy, notwithſtanding that notable Remonſtrance preferred in the Council of *Lions An. D.* 1245. from the body of the Kingdom, of the heavy burdens the Nation lay under by the exactions of *Rome*, and likewiſe to the Pope himſelf the year following; Pope *Innocent* the fourth invented a new way, to charge every Religious Houſe to find a number of Souldiers yearly for his ſervice, and to fight for the Church militant: and about the ſame time attempted alſo, *ut ſi Clericus regno decederet inteſtatus, ejuſdem bona in uſus D. Papæ converterentur*; that is, the Pope would make himſelf heir, or Executor, to every Clark that ſhould dye inteſtate: and not long after it was, that he received from the Clergy eleven thouſand Marks, as an addition to ſix thouſand he had receiv'd the year before. And then, and from that time, the Pope made no ſpare to drain, and exhauſt the Engliſh Clergy at his pleaſure, to the ſhameful ſcandal of the Holy See at that time, and to the notorious ignominy, poverty, and contempt of this Church, and the Clergy thereof. And of theſe times it was that *Matthew Weſtminſter* makes this complaint, *Porro illis diebus, ſal terræ, & caput*

Matt. Paris, fo. 549. 666. 701.

Matt. Weſtm. Flor. Hiſt. in An. 1301.

caput vulgi in magnum Hydropem ceciderunt: quanto enim plus pecuniam (humorem) hauriebant, tanto amplius eam sitiebant. Sedit ergo in tristitia fidelium Ecclesia, deducta per vocales tutores suos miserabiliter sub tributo; In those dayes the Head of the people was fallen into a dropsie, which the more money it suck'd in, the more it thirsted after more: therefore the Church of the faithful sat disconsolate, being by her Governours brought under a most miserable tribute, and servitude. At this time also it was that these grievous exactions reached into *Ireland*, recorded in the Annals thereof, That the Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Benefices in *England*, and *Ireland* were exacted by Pope *Boniface* the eight, for three years, as a Subsidy to the Church of *Rome*, against the King of *Arragon*. Neither did our *Hyperborean* neighbours escape Scot-free, in this deluge of exaction: Nay no less there would satisfie the Pope, but the whole Kingdom; for it was that *Boniface* the eight, that then claimed the whole Realm of *Scotland*, as part of St. *Peters Patrimony*, against our K. *Edward* the first, and sent his Bull of demand to the King for that purpose: between whom there passed several Answers, and Replies, in the point; and the conclusion was, That the incroaching Pope was glad to sit down worsted in the cause; the transactions of all which stand registred amongst the Tower Records, exemplified at large to posterity by *Walsingham*, *Matthew West-*

An. D. 1302. Annal. of Ire. in Camb. Brit. fo. 163.

Tho. Walsing. Hist. fo. 48. Ypodig. Neust. fo. 89. Flor. Hist. in Ed. 1. fo. 417. H. Knighton Coll: &c. Pol. Vergil. Fabian. Speed, &c.

Weſtminſter, *Knighton*, and more briefly by others. But all this while the poor Clergy languiſhed, being contin ually pill'd, poll'd, and ſqueezed by the unlimited avarice of this Pope, and his ſucceſſors, emptying the Kingdom of its money, and filling it with complaints, the product of its poverty.

CHAP. IV.

King John's *Penſion.*

THe troubleſom raign of our King *John* is ſufficiently related by all our Hiſtorians, in whoſe ſtraits the Pope appeared ſometimes for him, and ſometimes againſt him: but once taking him in a great exigence, the King was wrought upon to ſurrender his Crown to *Pandulfus*, the Pope's Legate, and ſubſtitute, laying the ſame, with his Scepter, Robe, Sword, and Ring, the Royal Enſigns, at his feet; ſubſcribing alſo, as is ſaid, to a Charter, whereby he ſurrendred his Kingdom to the Pope, and profeſſing that thence forward he would hold his Crown as a Feudatary to the Pope, and paying an annual Penſion, or Tribute of 1000 marks for both his Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*: the inſolent behaviour of the Legate at this, the Hiſtorians fully deſcribe, which I liſt not now to inſiſt on, but cannot but remember, that *Matt. Paris* ſays, that with this Charter, and 10000 l. ſterl. in hand, *Pandulfus* goes triumphing

Jo. Sarres Hiſt. in Phil. Auguſt. Matt. Paris in An 1213. fo. 236.

Id. fo. 237.

triumphing away to *Rome*. But then, when, or how long after, this yearly rent, or tribute of 1000 marks was paid, our Writers seem not to agree; though all concur in the invalidity of the surrender: And at a Parliament held at *Westm. An.* 40 *Ed.* 3. the Chancellour, then Bishop of *Ely*, declared to the Lords, and Commons, How the King understood that the Pope, for the Homage that K. *John* did to the See of *Rome*, for the Realms of *England*, and *Ireland*, and for the Tribute by him granted, meant by Process to cite the King to *Rome*, to Answer thereunto, wherein the King required their advice: The Bishops for themselves desired respite of Answer till the next day, as also did the Peers, and Commons; at which time the whole Estate came together, and by common consent Enacted, and Declared, That forasmuch as neither King *John*, nor any other King, could bring this Realm and Kingdom in such thraldom, and subjection, but by common assent of Parliament; the which was not done: And therefore that which he did was against his Oath at his Coronation, besides many others causes. If therefore the Pope should attempt any thing against the King by process, or other matters in deed, that the King with all his Subjects should with all their force and power resist the same. Then, for the Tribute or Pension of 1000 marks, it appears to have been sometimes paid, with intermissions: for Pope *Honorius*, having gratified K. *Hen.* 3. by his menacing

Vid. Speed Chron. in vita Johan. Rot. Parl. An. 40 Ed. 3.

menacing Bull to *Geoffry de Lysiniaco*, earneſtly demanded, by *Otho* his Legate, all the arrears of the 1000 marks annual rent granted by his Father K. *John*, due from the beginning of his Papacy, and the King's reign, who thereupon paid all thoſe arrears, amounting to 10000 marks, for which he deſired the Popes allowance, and acquittance by this Letter, ſtill kept upon the file. *Dom. Papæ ſalutem. Ad inſtantiam magiſtri O. Subdiaconi & Capellani veſtri, viri utique prudentis & merito commendabilis, qui ad nos tranſmiſſus ex parte veſtra, requirebat à nobis inſtanter ea quæ reſtare à tempore Papatus Veſtri credidit de annuo cenſu noſtro vobis debito: Paternitati veſtræ præſentibus intimamus, quod venerabili Patri P. Norwic. Epiſc. ſeptem millia quadringentas & treſdecem marcas & dimidium de prædicto cenſu ſolvimus, ſicut meminit ipſe pariter & confitetur: Et ad perficiendum octo millia marcarum, prædicto magiſtro Ottoni ſolvi fecimus quingentas quater viginti & ſex marcas & dimidium: Et præterea mille marcas tibi aſſignari fecimus. De mille vero marcis vobis ſatisfecerint Magiſter Stephanus de Ekcton, & Magiſter Stephanus de Ducy, nuncii noſtri, ſicut nobis ſignificaſtis: Et ſic de toto tempore Papatus veſtri plenarie vobis eſt ſatisfactum. Supplicamus igitur ſanctitati veſtræ quatenus nobis ſuper hoc literas veſtras patentes dignemini deſtinare. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſt. 24. die Martii, Anno*

Clauſ. 10 H. 3. m. 21. dorſo.

Anno regni noſtri Decimo. An even reckoning ſo far. And then it appears, that in the 33 year of King *Hen.* 3. Pope *Innocent* the 4th, in the ſixth year of his Papacy ſent to the King to demand this 1000 marks due for that year, by this Inſtrument, or Bull, *Innocentius Epiſcopus, ſervus Servorum Dei, chariſſimo in Chriſto filio Regi Anglorum illuſtri, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Excellentiam tuam affectione paterna rogamus, quatenus mille marcas ſterlingorum quas pro anno præſenti Eccleſiæ Romanæ nomine Cenſus debes, dilecto filio Theſaurario Domus militiæ Templi London. ſolitæ devotionis affectu, nomine noſtro facias aſſignari. Dat. Lugdun. 5 Kal. Auguſti, Pontificatus noſtri ſexto.* An. 33 H 3. in Turri Lond.

Dorſo, De cenſu annuo Dom. Papæ debito.

But whether any thing, or no, was paid upon this demand appears not: But by the *Liberate* Rolls, it appears, that this rent due for the 31 year of K. *H.* 3. was then paid to the Treaſurer of the Temple. 31 H. 3. m. 1.

In the year 1276. Pope *John* 21. ſent ſuch another Bull, or demand to K. *Edw.* 1. ſtill preſerv'd amongſt the Tower Records, whereby he demanded the arrears of this annual rent of 1000 marks, for ſeven years then laſt paſt, and alſo for that year: but whether payment was made accordingly, there remains no evidence: and when, or how

how much was afterwards paid upon this account, is now uncertain. But from these footsteps thereof, which we find amongst our Records, it may well be collected, that the Popes being sensible of the defeasibleness of their Title to this Rent, durst not always insist upon it, but sometimes when they met with an easie King, or one whose affairs required the Pope's countenance, or aid; then they would put on a demand of this rent, with the arrears of it, and many times, without doubt, were gratifi'd therein: but then with wise, and resolute Kings, they had the discretion to let it alone; and so by continuance of time, and non-claim, the rent came at last to be extinguish'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Appeals.

APpeals to the Court of *Rome* was another way of drawing great ſumms of money out of *England* continually thither. And theſe began moſt viſibly in the time of King *Stephen*, according to that of *Gervaſius Dorobernienſis*, *Inuſitatæ enim erant in Anglia Appellationes*, *uſque quo Henricus extitit Wintonienſis Epiſcopus* : remembred alſo by *Hen. Huntingdon*, who tells us alſo the occaſion; related at large by Biſhop *Godwin*, in the life of *Theobald*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And then when the Popes had taſted the ſweets of the gains accruing this way, all incouragement was given to Appellants, ſo that afterwards there ſcarcely happen'd any controverſie of value, but one party, or other would preſently Appeal to the Pope, and Court of *Rome:* for the management of which Appeals, it was neceſſary to retain Proctors, Notaries, Advocates, Agents, Sollicitors, and many other Officers, who all living by the employment, expected always to be well paid : And in the Court of *Rome* were continually reſident a multitude of Officers, Judges, Clarks, Scribes, Advocates, Canoniſts, Civillians, Referendaries, who every one muſt have a finger in every cauſe brought thither by Apppeal, and

Gervaſ. Dorobern. col'. fo. 1667.

Hen. Huntingd. lib. 8. o. 395.

be all well paid, and brib'd, for Bulls, Breves, Citations, Commiſſions, Sentences, References, Expeditions, with innumerable ſorts of Proceſſes, iſſuing during the depending of cauſes; which were never ſpeedily ended, but ſpun out to the utmoſt length, with all incouragement of Appellant Suitors, bringing griſt to the mill, and as long as any money flowed to make the wheel go.

And as theſe Appeals were purchaſed in ſuits between party and party, moſt commonly to the utter undoing of the Plaintiff, or Defendant, and many times of them both, the Pope having the fineneſs, when he had cracked the Nut, to take the kernel to himſelf, and to give one ſhell to one of them, and the other to the other: ſo oftentimes they cauſed a far greater miſchief, being made uſe of by haughty, turbulent, and undutiful ſubjects, eſpecially Church-men, to croſs, and oppoſe their Soveraigns, upon every, or any pretence whatſoever: Witneſs the Appeals of *Anſelme*, *Becket*, the Monks of *Canterbury*, with multitudes more, from the King, and his Laws, to the Pope, as in all our Hiſtories moſt frequently occurr: All which tended only to carry huge ſums to *Rome*, and to bring thence no leſs miſchiefs to the King, and Kingdom. And beſides this, multitudes of Appeals were founded upon the Elections of Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Deans, *&c.* for it was very rare to have all parties acquieſce in an Election, but Incapacity, Simony, Surprize, or ſome irregularity would be pretended;

tended; and then presently an Appeal must be made to *Rome*, and there generally the cause determined for that party which brought the most money. As once *John Hereford* was elected Abbot of St. *Alban's* Monastery, but upon some dis-satisfaction taken thereat, *Reynold* the Physician, and *Nicholas* a Monk, were instantly posted away, with a huge bag of Money to *Rome*, whereby the Election was confirm'd upon these terms, That the new Abbot should swear, every third year, by himself, or some other, to visit the *Limina Apostolorum* in *Rome*, with a *subintelligitur*, that he should never come empty handed: and this was very frequently injoined to others, in such, or the like cases. Now for the particulars of these Appeals, I could produce a multitude of instances, and Cases; but designing brevity, I had rather refer you to *Mat. Paris*, and others, who are not sparing therein.

Venalesque manus, ibi fas, ubi plurima merces. Acts & Mon. fo. 259.

I shall only, upon this Head, further note, that not only many particular persons were ruin'd, and undone, by reason of the great expenses they were put unto, upon this account, at *Rome*: but also many religious Houses, and Covents, became by that means so impoverished, that they would certainly have been utterly broken, and dissolved, if some extraordinary courses had not been taken for their support; as once the Abbot, and Covent of *Feversham*, being greatly indebted to Merchants, Usurers, and others, by reason of their vast ex ences at *Rome*, the King, by his

Par. 3 Ed. 2. m. 13. Pro Abbate, & Conventu, de Feversham.

Soveraign Authority, to preſerve them, and their Houſe from ruine, took them, with all their Poſſeſſions, Lands, Goods, and Chattles, into his ſpecial protection, and committed them to the management of certain perſons, for the diſcharge of their debts, and their neceſſary ſupport, as appears by the Patent for that purpoſe, yet to be ſeen, but too large to be here inſerted. Note, it was the Monks of this Abby of *Feverſham* that once contended in a Controverſie with King *John*, both by way of Appeal to *Rome*, and by force of Arms againſt the Sheriff, and the *Poſſe Comitatus*, but had the ill fortune to be worſted at every turn.

Fulco Peyforer,& Hamon Doges.

Lambert Peramb. in Feverſham.

The like Protection, and Proviſion, in the ſame form, and for the ſame reaſon, was granted, and made, by King *Ed.* 1. to the Abbots, and Covents of *Bordeſley*, and *Bynedon*. And alſo to the Prior, and Covent of *Thornholm*: but the cuſtody of them, their Lands, and Goods, were granted to other perſons.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Diſpenſations.

DIſpenſations, and Abſolutions from caſes reſerved, and Faculties, were other great means of drawing vaſt ſumms of money hence to *Rome*. And for the managing and diſpencing of theſe, the Popes had their Miniſters, Officers, and Courts, ready to make out, and grant theſe Diſpenſations to ſuch as had occaſion, or to whom it would be a convenience to purchaſe them: and that in a multitude of caſes: As to Diſpence with one man to hold two Biſhopricks, or a Plurality of Benefices. To make Infants capable of Benefices, and Offices. To Legitimate Baſtards. To qualifie perſons to marry within the degrees prohibited by the Canons, or by God's Law. To lay aſide Habits of Profeſſions Regular, to revert to a ſecular State. To give liberty to live without Rules, Order, and Diſcipline, which had bin entered into. For liberty not to keep raſh, or prejudicial Oaths. To eat Fleſh at times ordinarily forbidden. To wave the performance of Vows. To reſcind contracts, marriages, and covenants. And innumerable other the like caſes, in which exact care was taken, that the party purchaſer ſhould be ſerved to the height of

Vid. Centum gravamina Germ. An. D. 1521.

his ability, and the benefit of the Diſpenſation.

Matt. Paris in Hen. 3.

King *Henry* the third, ſwore to maintain *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*, with other liberties of the People; and for that had a great Subſidy given him: but for money the Pope Diſpenced with his Oath, and then he would perform nothing.

Id. An. 1238. fo. 471.

Simon Montford, Earl of *Leiceſter*, marryed the Daughter of King *John* named *Elianor*, who was profeſſed in Religion: at which King *Henry* the third, and others being offended, the Earl poſts to *Rome*, and there *effuſa*, *& promiſſa infinita pecunia*, as the Hiſtorian hath it, he obtained of the Pope, to give Order to his Legate *Otho*, to give ſentence for the marriage.

Tho. Walſing. in E. 3. An. 1359.

John of *Gaunt*, by a like Diſpenſation, marryed his Couſin *Blanch*.

Camb. An. Eliz. fo. 2. Sr. Fr. Bacon Hiſt. Hen. 7. fo. 199.

King *Hen.* 8. Marryed his Brothers Widdow by ſuch a Diſpenſation; not cheaply obtained; for a noble Author ſayes, the Pope was very difficil in granting it; not for want of power, I ſuppoſe, but to ſcrue the more money out of the Royal Purchaſer. It was Pope *Julius* the Second that gave this Diſpenſation. But afterwards the validity of the Marriage, upon ſuch a Diſpenſation, being queſtioned, as being directly againſt the Scripture, Pope *Clement* 7. at the inſtance of King *Henry*, ſent Cardinal *Campeggio* into *England*, framing a Bull, or Breve, to diſſolve the King's marriage with

Hiſt. Conc. Trid lib. 1. f. 68. Camb. Speed, &c.

Queen

Queen *Catharine*, (to be publiſhed when ſome few proofs were paſſed, which were made ready) and to give liberty to the King to marry another: But afterwards, the Pope conceiving it would diſguſt the Emperour, who was *Katharines* near Kinſman, he ſent another *Nuntio* to *Campeggio*, with order to burn the Bull, and to proceed ſlowly in the cauſe: Reſolving, like his Predeceſſor, to make the beſt advantages he could of the plenitude of his power. But the King, perceiving the juggling, went another way to work, and how he procured his marriage to be vacated, our Hiſtories and Records teſtifie.

Alſo *Charls* the fifth Emperour, procured a marriage between *Philip* his Son, and *Mary* Queen of *England*, by a Diſpenſation from Pope *Julius* the third, becauſe they were allyed in the third degree, and that *Charls* himſelf had contracted to marry her, when he was under age. And after her death King *Philip*, deſirous to keep his intereſt in *England*, treated ſeriouſly of a marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, his late wives ſiſter, with promiſe to obtain a ſpecial Diſpenſation from the Pope, which the *French* King laboured ſecretly to hinder, but the Queen gave him a repulſe. Camb. Annal. Eliz.

By vertue of theſe Diſpenſations it is, that the Houſe of *Auſtria*, for ſome reaſons of State marry all amongſt themſelves, ſo continuing all of the ſame family, or as limbs of the ſame body. Whereby *Philip* the ſe- Sr. Edw. Sands Europ. Spec. fo. 40.

cond of *Spain* might have called the Archduke *Albert* both Brother, Couſin, *Nephew*, and Son; for he was ſo either by blood, or affinity; being Uncle to himſelf, Couſin-german to his Father, Husband to his Siſter, and Father to his Wife. And it ſo hapned, that by reaſon of the multitude of Canons, as were put forth by divers Popes, of reſtrictions, and limitations, very few Princely Families in *Europe* could at any time intermarry without Diſpenſations from ſuch, or ſuch a Canon, and then let the Pope alone for ſetting his own rates and prices upon his own Inſtruments.

As great ſumms of money came thus to the Popes, upon their Diſpenſations in point of marriage: So frequently they made their advantages by diſpenſing with promiſes, Vows, and Oaths. How King *Henry* the third, obtained a Diſpenſation about *Magna Charta*, we have touched before: And that power claimed, and exerciſed by the Popes, made them very neceſſary for all ſuch Princes, as either upon extremity were conſtrained to enter into hard conditions; or ſuch as had fair opportunities put into their hands of taking advantage againſt their neighbours. And this was the caſe of *Francis* the Firſt, the *French* King, to whom Pope *Clement* the ſeventh, gave a Diſpenſation from performance of Covenants made upon Oath with *Charls* the fifth, upon his releaſe, after he had bin taken Priſoner at the Battle

of

of *Pavia*: whereby, in gratitude, *Francis* was ever after a ſure confident of the Pope's, teſtified to the world by that famous enter-marriage between the Son of the one, and the Kinſwoman of the other. The contemplation whereof, with other the like inſtances, and the obſervation of the ſhort continuance of divers Sworn Leagues at this day, hath made ſome, with reaſon enough, believe that the unlimited fingers of the Popes have been, and are ſtill ſecretly ſtirring, in untying thoſe knots of the bonds of Conſcience, and more frequently than the world is well aware of, and that ſome *Popiſh* Princes themſelves, in imitation thereof, have aſſumed the like faculty of diſpencing with their own Oaths, when it ſeems advantageous for their Kingdoms intereſt, as it did to the Popes for that of the Church. To juſtifie which tranſcendant, extravagant power of the Popes, they and their Creatures are not without ſome comprehenſive Principles, and *Maxims*, whether of Religion, or policy, I leave it to others to judge; as, That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks: That the Pope can diſpence with the Law, above the Law, and againſt the Law, by the plenitude of his power: and that in every promiſſory Oath that a man Swears, the Pope's power is tacitely before excepted. The notorious abuſe, and miſchief in which matter, framed one of the principal Articles of Grievances, preſented

Joh. Serres in vit. Franc. 1.

Sr. Edw. Sands ut Sup. fo. 43.

Moſconius de Majeſt. Eccl. vid. Revieu del Conc. de Tr. n. vid. 100 gravam. c. 1. Faſcicul. rerum expetend.

sented to the Pope from the *Germans*, for a reformation, at an Imperial *Diet* at *Noremberg An. D.* 1522. a little before the Council of *Trent*.

Helmold. in Chron. Slavorum. cap. 29.

The Pope's practice in Dispencing with Oaths brings to mind this story, That when contest was between the Emperour *Henry* 4. and Pope *Gregory* the seventh, the Pope Excommunicates the Emperour and puts on *Rodolphus* Duke of *Saxony* to rebel against him, in order to his deposition, and absolves the Duke of his Oath of Allegiance given to the Emperour: after which a Battle happening between the Duke, and the Emperour; the Duke was mortally wounded in the right hand; which made him cry out to his company, See you that this hand, with which I first made, and then broke my Oath of Allegiance to my lawful Soveraign, is thus struck by the Divine vengeance; the Spectacle whereof I pray God may work repentance in the causers of my defection and perjury, as it hath done in me. Not long after which he expired miserably, and deplorably.

Epist. ad Zach. Pap. 2. Tom. Conc.

Once it was, that the import of one of these Dispensations mightily puzled a certain Archbishop of *Germany*, Legate there for the *See* of *Rome*: for he sent to Pope *Zachary*, to know his opinion, or resolution about a Dispensation which a *German* produc'd, and pleaded, as obtained from Pope *Gregory* his Predecessor; which was, To

marry

marry a woman, that had first bin maryed to his Uncle, and afterwards to a Cousin of his, from whom she was divorced, and he yet alive; besides she was his kinswoman in the Third degree, and had bin a Nun: but it is thought the Pope was as much gravell'd at it, as the Archbishop, for it doth not appear that he returned any answer.

Charls the Eight, the *French* King, made great use of this dispensing power of the Popes; For this *Charls* had taken the Daughter of *Maximilian*, King of the Romans, for his wife: but afterwards, to obtain the *Duchy* of *Brittain*, he Sollicited to marry *Anne* the heir thereof, though she was betrothed, nay already marryed to *Maximilian*, by his Proctor, openly in the Church: a double injury to *Maximilian*, to have her taken from him, whom he accounted his Wife; and to have his Daughter sent home again, who had bin divers years Queen of *France*; but this was an easie thing for the Pope to do, as *Phil. de Comines* tells the story at large: adding, that there was great disputes, and arguments, in those times, *Pro*, & *Con*, whether those actions could agree with Laws of Holy Church, or not; and relating, that the ussues of those Ladies became very unfortunate, and that many calamities proceeded from those marriages: but the interests of the Pope, and the *French*, being twisted in this affair, he spared not to

Phil. de Com. lib. 7. cap. 3. Arnold. Ferron de Reb. gest. Gall. in vita Car. 8.

cut

cut aſunder the ſacred bonds of marriage, which had been made ſo ſolemnly before.

By theſe practices the Popes acquired infinite advantage: for thereby they did not only in hand get great ſumms, or ſome other valuable conſiderations; but alſo obliged, and ſecured the favors of many, and of their poſterities alſo, whoſe eſtates, and legitimation depended altogether upon the validity of theſe purchaſed Diſpenſations.

Theſe Diſpenſations were experienc'd the more miſchievous in this regard, that whereas the Popes gull'd the People of great ſumms of money other wayes, by the fineneſs of a *pia fraus*, where the common ſaying, *volenti non fit injuria*, might take ſome place: but here the eſtates, and fortunes of perſons, and families frequently became rent, and torn, by the ruinous conſequences of theſe Diſpenſations: And hence all thoſe grievous complaints that have been made againſt them. In the very Council of *Trent*, ſpake ſtoutly, and freely againſt the abuſes of them, one *Johannes Verdun*; but it was not a time then to have his ſtory heard, ſo as to be regarded.

Hiſt. Conc. Trid lib. 7. fo. 676. vid. Terr. Torti. fo. 51.

Diſpenſations are ſtiled *Legum Vulnera*; and indeed when a Law is once, in the leaſt, wounded by a Diſpenſation, it proves ſuch a ſtab, that there is but little life left in it afterwards. Chriſt came not to diſſolve

diſſolve, but to fulfil the Law: but the Popes have made it a practiſe to diſſolve Laws, that they might fill full their own Coffers.

Complaints againſt this grievance we find moſt frequently in our Parliamentary Records, and Hiſtories, of which more hereafter: and at preſent we will only note that of *Matthew Paris*; how the Eſtates of the Kingdom being once aſſembled, they made an unanimous Remonſtrance of the manifold grievances indured from the Pope, and particularly of that which was wrought by that damnable clauſe of *Non obſtante*, contained in a multitude of his Bulls, Breves, and Inſtruments, which he ſent abroad to torment the People, and by which the Authority of Grants, Laws, Statutes, and Priviledges was vacated, and overthrown, and his own revenues eſtabliſhed upon the ruins of the Nation, Diſpenſing with any thing, nay every thing, by which he might gain any thing, as may be read at large in that notable Hiſtorian, to whom, for brevities ſake, we referr thoſe that would receive further ſatisfaction therein, and paſs on to the

Matt. Paris in Hen. 3 Anno D. 1246.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Indulgences, Pardons.

INdulgences, and Pardons, ſhall in the next place be remembred, as moſt powerful devices to draw money to *Rome*. And becauſe the import of theſe, generally, hath not been ſo well apprehended, we will take liberty to make a little enquiry into the nature, and vertue of them.

In the Primitive Times, when the Chriſtians had committed any hainous offence, as for example, either in denying their Faith, or ſacrificing to Idols, for fear of perſecution: the parties offending were injoyned ſome ſevere, and long Penance: and the rigour of this the Biſhops, and Paſtors had power (if they ſaw cauſe) to mitigate, at their diſcretion: which mitigation, or relaxation of Puniſhment, was called Indulgence, or Pardon. And this derived from St. *Paul*, who releaſed the inceſtuous Corinthian from the bond of Excommunication, upon his humiliation, and ſerious repentance.

And this manner of Indulgence was ancient, and continued long in the Primitive Church: But the Indulgence in the Roman Church is of another nature: for ſeeing that Sin, as they ſay, deſerveth as well ſome Temporal puniſhment, as Eternal Damnation, their Indulgence is a ſuppoſed Abſolution from

from the guilt of Temporal punishment, which punishment is inflicted, they say, in Purgatory; and all this, as they further add, by the application of the merits of Jesus Christ, and his Saints, by the medium, and method of the Church: and these merits are termed *Thesaurus Ecclesiæ*, *The Treasure of the Church*, and appliable to the souls of the dead burning in Purgatory, to work out their Temporal punishment. And this is the notion of Indulgence in the Roman Church, if I mistake not, for it is a Doctrine as difficult to understand, as to maintain. But this is certain that these modern, new coin'd Indulgences, differ infinitely from that of the Primitive Times; for those which were first used for mitigation of Penance, or Punishment, are now reduced to be in stead of real private satisfactions: and that which was formerly left to the discretion of every Bishop in his own Dioceſs, to dispence, in that manner, with *summum jus*, is now solely transferred to the Power, and authority of the Pope: and that not only from Penances, and Punishments in this life, but also from imprisonment, pains, and tortures in Purgatory for many thousands of years: As, whosoever in the state of Grace shall say seven prayers before the Crucifix, and seven *Pater nosters*, and seven *Ave Marys*, shall obtain Six and Fifty Thousand years of pardon: fourteen thousand granted by St. *Gregory*: fourteen thousand by *Nicholas* the First: and eight and twenty thousand by *Sixtus*

Vid. Pol. Vergil. de inventorum. lib. 8. cap. 1.

Horæ beatæ Mar. Virg. secundum usum Sarum.

Bul'a Pii Quarti. Dat. Rom. 1564.

tus the 4th. And amongſt the Articles framed at the Council of *Trent*, to be owned *ſuper forma juramenti profeſſionis fidei*, this is one, That the power of Indulgences was left by Chriſt in the Church, and that the uſe thereof is moſt wholeſom for Chriſts people.

For the Antiquity, Authority, and validity of theſe Indulgences, as now practiſed, let thoſe maintain, if they can, whom it moſt concerns, and who get by them, for my buſineſs now is not to diſpute; only I cannot forbear to tell you what a learned Romaniſt ſays of them, *Dolendum & mirandum*, &c. It is to be lamented, and admired, how Catholicks write of Indulgences, ſo timorouſly, ſo coldly, ſo diverſly, ſo doubtfully, as if they were ſo far fetch'd, or ſo uncertainly framed, that they could hardly be proved. We will therefore only take notice of their efficacy to draw money out of the Peoples purſes, our preſent purpoſe; and for their power of drawing Souls out of Purgatory, we leave it to another opportunity.

Canerus Declam.

For the purpoſe of drawing money from the people, there could not have been a more neat contrivance, and therefore, by one, they have not improperly been called *Emulgences*; and by the Romaniſts themſelves, in their trueſt ſignification, *The Treaſury of the Church*. For ſeeing the Pope was become the ſole diſpencer, and diſpoſer of them, when he had occaſion, or a mind to amaſs moneys, it was a ready, and ſure way,

River.

Romanorum loculos impregnare. Mat. Paris. Hen. 3.

way upon pretence of Wars against the Turks, or of Wars against Hereticks, or Wars against the Emperour, or any neighbor Prince, or State, with whom the Pope was at odds, to send out, and proclaim Marts, and Sales for these Indulgences, upon terms that those who would disburse any summs of money, for the purposes aforesaid, as the occasion was, they should have Pardons, and Indulgences for numbers of years proportionable to the summs they could, or would depositе; *Nam aliter non absolvebantur nisi tribuerent secundum posse suum, & facultatem suam*, For people could not be absolv'd, except they did disburse as much as their abilities would afford, as *Hen. de Knighton* deals plainly in the case: And then for the poor, and indigent, truly they deserve our pitty, when the *Taxa Cameræ Apostolicæ* deals thus plainly with them, *Nota diligenter quod hujusmodi gratiæ non conceduntur pauperibus; quia non habent, ergo non possunt consolari*, Note diligently, that such graces are not granted to the poor; because they have not wherewithal, they cannot be comforted. A very sad Case!

Hen. de Knighton Coll. 2671.

Taxa Cam. Apost. Impress. Paris.

Now for those people that were conscious, and certain they were guilty of many sins, and perswaded they should lye frying in Purgatory many thousands of years, to purge themselves, and make them fit for Heaven; who would not presently unstring, and give even almost all they were worth, for such advantages, and to be freed from

thoſe bitterly repreſented pains, and torments?

Then to aſſure people they were not cheated in theſe penny-worths, and bargains, the Myſterie of the Pope's Triple Crown was ſufficient: for anciently, if not ſtill, the word, *Myſterium*, was engraven thereon, to denote, and ſignifie the Rule, and Authority, the Pope bears in *Heaven*, in *Earth*, and in *Purgatory*. And ſo theſe Indulgences, and Pardons were trucked for, and bought up, at any rates: untill people began a little to conſider, and look about them, and to obſerve upon what terms, and for what purpoſes theſe Indulgences were ſent abroad, wherein no diſtinction of perſons, or ſins was made, which reaſonably might have been expected from Chriſt's Vicar; that whoſoever performed ſome religious rites, and paid certain ſumms of money, ſhould have all their ſins forgiven, whatever they were: ſo that all men, who would come to the price, were not only promiſed everlaſting life, but made capable of delivering the ſouls of others out of Purgatory: conſidering alſo, that in employing the money raiſed by theſe Indulgences, there was no regard had to the end for which they were given, but frequently, by way of anticipation, it was aſſigned to ſome other purpoſe, as to carry on the Popes revenge, to pay his debts, to gratifie a friend, to inrich a Nephew, to marry a Neece, to wage a War, to ſubdue an Anti-pope, or the like: that all immaginable ſhifts,

Myſterium.

Centum gravam. Germar.

ſhifts, ſharking, and tricks were uſed to make the moſt of them, in regard they were generally farmed out to the moſt cunning ſnaps, and ſuch as would give moſt for them. So that in time people began to be a little wary in laying out their money that way, and the Markets, and ſales for Indulgences began to be very cold: but then the Collectors, and Factors would ſell the cheaper penny-worths, and play at ſmall games before they would give out; as once in *Germany*, when theſe wares began to be a little out of credit, the Pope's Officers would ſell them for a very ſmall price, or play at Tables for them in Taverns, and Gaming-Houſes, wherein money was ſtaked againſt Pardons eſteemed of ſuch a value. And ſo from the diſcoveries of the cheats, and rapine hereby practiſed, the Indulgences were not only contemned, and exploded, but way made for Reformation of other Corruptions in the Church.

Hen. de Knighton Col. fo. 2671.

An. Dom. 1520.

Guicciard. Hiſt. lib. 13. fo. 629.

Vid. Hiſt. Concil. Trident.

Now, as well to ſhew the liberality of the Popes, in granting theſe Indulgences, as alſo ſomewhat further to explicate the nature of them; we will here take a view of ſuch *Indulgences*, and *Pardons*, as formerly have been granted to ſome of the Churches in *Rome*, as they are ſpecified in an old Book called, *The Cuſtomes of London*, as follows.

Customes of London.

The hoole Pardon of *Rome* graunted by divers Popes.

Vid. Onuphr. de 7. sanctioribus urbis Rom. Ecclesiis.

IN the City of Rome *been four Chirches, in which is Masse daily don, but there been six of the same privileged, above all the oder with gret holinesse, and pardon, as is hereaftir shewid.*

The Furst is called St. Peter*'s Chirch th' Apostell, and is set upon the foot of an Hill, and men go upward thereto a stair of* xxix *steppys high, and as often as a man gooth up and doun that steyer, he is releside of the seventh part of penaunce, injoin'd and graunted by Pope* Alysander.

Item, *As ye com before the Chirch ther the Well springeth, so may ye see above the dore an Image of our Lord, and betwene his feete stondeth one of the pence that God was sold for, and as oft as ye look on that peny, ye have* xiv *hundred yeris of pardon.*

Item, *In the same Chirch on the ryht side ther is a pilour that was somtyme of* Salamon*'s Temple, at which pilour our Lord was wont to reste whan he preched to the peeple, at which pilour if there any bee frantyk, or madd, or trobled with spyrits, they be deliveryd, and made hool.*

And in that Chirch be xi *Aulters, and at every of the Aulter is* xlviij *yeris of pardone, and as many Lentes, or Karynes: and* vii *of thoe Aulters been severally privelegyd with grace and pardone.*

At

At the Furſt Aulter is the Vyſage of our Lord, who loketh on that hath vij C *yere of pardone.*

Item, *At the ſame Aulter is the ſpere that Cryſt was pierced with, whych was broght fro* Conſtantynopl, *ſent fro the gret Turk to Pope* Innocent *the* viij.

The Second Aulter is of Seint Andrew, *and ther ye have* vij C *yere of pardone.*

The Fourth is of our Lady, ther is vij C *yeres pardone.*

The v *Aulter is of St.* Leo, *ther he recevyd the abſolucyon in his maſſe fro Hevyn, and ther is pardon of* vij C *yeres.*

The vj *Aulter of All Soles, and ther is* v C *yeres of pardon: and every hyh feſt one Sole out of Purgatory.*

The vij *Aulter is of Seynt* Symon, *and* Jude, *and ther is* vj C *yeris of pardone.*

And before the Quyer dore ſtond two yriven Croſſes, and who ſo kyſſeth thoo two Croſſes, he hath v C *yeris of pardone.*

Item, *Upon our Lady day in Lente is hanged afore the Quyer a cloth as our Lady made her ſelf, and it hangeth till our Lady day Aſſumpcion, and as many times as one beholdith it he hath* iv C *yere of pardon.*

Allſoo, as many times as a man goothe thorogh the crowds at St. Peters *Chirch, he hath* iv C *yere of pardon.*

And as often as one followith the Hoſt to the ſycke bodys he hath xiv C *yeres of pardon.*

Allſo, Pope Sylveſter *grauntid to all thoe as daily gothe to the Chirch of St.* Peter

the iij *part of all his ſins releſid, and all advows and promyſe releſyd, and all ſins forgeten releſyd and forgeven, except leying honds on Fader and Moder vyolently, and above this is graunted* xxviij C *yere of pardon, and the meritys of as many Lentes or Karyns.* [*The knowledge of a Karyn ye ſhall find in the end of this boke.*]

And in the feſte of Seynt Peter *a* M *yere of pardon, and as many karyns, and the* * *threddendell of penaunce enjoyned releſyd.*

* Third part.

And fro the Aſſencyon day of our Lord unto the Aſſumpcyon of our Lady ye have xiv *yere of pardone, and as many karyns, and foryefenes of the* iij *part of all ſynnes.*

And upon the one ſyde of Seynt Peter's *Chirch a Chirchyard lyeth, and that is called* Goddys *felde, and there be beryed pore pylgryms and none other, and it is the land that was bought with* xxx *pens that our Lord was ſold for, as oft as one goeth upon that ground he hath* xv C *yere of pardon.*

Item, *In the Chirch of Seynt* Poule *without the walls ye have* xlvij M *yere of pardon.*

Item, *In the day of his convercyon* i C *yere of pardon.*

Item, *On Childermaſſe day* iij M *yere of pardon.*

Item, *On the* * *Utas of Seynt* Martin *whan as the Chirch was hallowed* xiv M *years of pardon, and as many karyns, and the* iij *part of all ſins releſyd.*

* Eight day.

Allſo

Allſo whoo that viſite the Chirch of Seynt Poule *two Sondays dothe as moche as if he went to* * *St.* James *and dyd come ageyn.* St. *Jam's* of Compoſtella in Spain.

Item, *In the Chirch of St.* Laurence *wythout the walls ther lyeth the body of St.* Laurence, *and of St.* Stephen, *and at the hyh aulter ye have* xciij M *yere of pardon.*

And whoe that viſite the other aulters hath at eche aulter vij M *yeres of pardon, and as many karyns.*

Allſo, The Pope Pelagius *grauntid there at the* iv *feſtys of the yere at eche feſte* vij C *yere of pardon and as many karyns, and who that gothe thether every Wedneſday he deliverith a ſole out of Purgatory, and hymſelf quyt of all ſyns.*

Item, *In the Chirch of St.* Crucis *ther is a chambre or a Chappell wythin, that Pope* Sylveſter *named* Jheruſalem, *there is the bond that Chryſt was led with to his crucifyeing, and ther been* ij *Sauſers, and the one is full of his blood, and the other is full of our Ladys mylk, and the Sponge wherein ther was mengyd eyſelly and galle.*

And one of the Nayls that Jheſus *was nayled with on the croſſe, and a part of the block that St.* John *his hed was ſmeten off upon, and two armes, the one of St.* Peter, *the oder of St.* Poule.

Item, *Ther ſtondyth a cheir in which Pope* * Accenſius *was maſtered, and too all theym as ſit in that cheir is grauntyd an* C M *yere of pardon, and as many karyns, and every Sonday a ſole out of Purgatory, and the* * Anicetus.

treddendell of all ſyns releſyd.

Item, *In the ſame Chirch is a grete part of one of the Croſſes that one of the thevis was put on that was Crucifyed with Chryſt.*

Item, *In the ſame Chirch is the tytell of Chryſt as was in* Latyn, Ebrew, *and* Greke, *which was found in the tyme of Pope* Innocent, *to the whych the ſame Pope hath grantyd gret pardon.*

Item, *In the Chirch of St.* Mary Major *ther ſtondyth on the hyh aulter the hed of Seynt* Jheronimus, *and ther ye have* xiiij M *yere of pardon, and as many karyns.*

And on the oder aulter on the ryte honde ther is the Cradle that Jheſus *lay in, and of our Lady's mylke, and a grete part of the holy Croſſe, and of many Seintis Bodys, and ther ye have* xix M *yere of pardon, and as many karyns.*

And Pope Nicholas iv, *and St.* Gregory, *eche of theym grauntyd therto* x M *yere of pardon.*

And fro aſſencyon to Cryſtmas *ye have* xiiij M *yere of pardon, and the thred part of all ſynns releſyd.*

Item, *In the Chirch of Seynt* Sebaſtian *wythout the Town, ther in a place that Pope* Calixt *named* Tolund, *as ther the Aungel appered and ſpack to* Gregory *the Pope. In that place is foryefenes of all Synnes, and all penaunce.*

At the hyh aulter is grauntid xxviij C *yeris of pardone, and as many karyns: and whoſo*

whoſo cometh to the furſt aulter that ſtondith in the Chirch hath xiiij C *yere of pardone: and ther is a Sellare or a vaute wherein lyeth beryed* xlix *Popes that deyed all Martirs, who ſo cometh furſt into that place delyveryeth* viij *Soles out of Purgatory of ſoche as he moſt deſyreth, and as moche pardon therto that all the world cannot nombre, ne reken, and every Sonday ye delyver a Sole out of Purgatory. And in that Sellare ſtondyth a pytt, ther Seynt* Peter, *and Seynt* Poule *wer hyd in* ccl *yere, that no man wyſt wher thei were becom, and whoo that putyth his hed into that pytt and takyth it oute agein is clene of all ſynne.*

Pope Gregory, *and* Sylveſter, *and Pope Nicholas, and Pope* Pelagius, *and Pope* Honorius, *eche of them grauntyd to the ſame place one* M *yere of pardon, and as many karyns. And ther lyeth the bodys of divers oder holy perſons whych were too long to wryte of: and ſo the grace that is at St.* Sebaſtians *is groundyd that it cannot be taken away.*

Item, *In the Chirch of Seynt* Mari Mayor *afore written, afore the Quyer, is the Image of our Lady which Seynt* Luke *dyd peint; which Image St.* Gregory *dyd bere fro* Mari Mayor *to Seynt* Peters *th'*Apoſtel, *who allſo comyng afore the Caſtell of St.* Aungell *he ſee an Aungell in the hyht of the Caſtell, having in his hond a burning Sworde, and with him a gret multitude of Aungells, which ſong afore that Image*

Regina

Regina cœli latare &c.

Answering St. *Gregory.*

Ora pro nobis Alleluja.

Item, *In the Chirch of Seint* John Latryneus *the Pope* Sylvester *yaf therto as many yeres pardon as it reyned drops of water the day thot hallowyd the Chirch; and that tyme it reyned so sore, that no man had seen a greter reyn before that day.*

And when he had grauntid this, he thought in himself whedyr he had so much power or not.

Then ther came a voice fro hevyn, and said, Sylvester *thou hast power inough to yeve that pardon, and God grauntyd thus moche therto, that and a man had made a vow to* Jherusalem, *and lacked good to do his Pilgramage, if he go fro St.* Peter's *Chirch to St.* John Latrynes, *he shall be discharged and have absolucyon of that promise.*

And any time that a man cometh to St. John Latrynes, *he is quytt of all Synnes, and of all penaunce, with that, that he be penitent for his sinnes.*

Blyssed is the moder that bereth the chylde that hereth masse on Saterdays at St. John Latrynes, *for he deliveryth all theim that he desyreth out of Purgatory, too the nombre of* lxxvij *Soles.*

Item,

Item, *Upon the tour of the Chirch ſtondyth a double croſſe that was made of the ſwerde that St.* John *was beheded with, and at every time that a man beholdith that croſſe he hath* xiiij M *year of pardon, and as many karyns of all penaunce.*

And at the hyh aulter ye have remiſhyon of all Synnes, and of all penaunce, and innumerable pardon more than he needeth for himſelf.

There is the grave that Seynt John *layd himſelf in when he had ſaid maſſe, and then come a grete light over the grave, and when that light was gone, then fund they nootyng there but hevinly bred. In that grave cometh every good Friday in the night the holy cream and oyl, and he that putteth therin his hed hath* C M *yere of pardon, and as many karyns.*

And behynd the hyh auter ſtondith a cheyr that God ſat in, and whoo that ſitteth therin has the thred part of all his ſyns releſyd.

And who that viſiteth all the oder aulters hath at eche aulter xliiij C *yere of pardon, and as many karynes: and on the one ſide of the Chirch ther is a Sacrifice that is at Seynt* John Baptiſt's *aulter, and ther is the table that our Lord ete at upon Maundy Thurreſday. And allſo the Tables of ſtone with the* X *Commandments that our Lord gafe to* Moyſes *on the mount of* Sinai: *And ther is a* iiij *Square of the* v *borly lofes, and of the two fyſhes, and allſo there is our Ladys keverchef.* Item,

Item, *In the ſame Chirch on the hyh auⁿter been the bodys of Seint* Peter, *and* Poule, *and the hed of* Zachary *the Prophet, Fader of Seynt* John *the Baptiſt, with dyvers oder reliqys.*

Item, *In the ſame Chirch-yard ſtondith a Chappell that is called* Sanctum Sanctorum, *ther is the face of our Lord, ther ye have* xiij M *yere of pardon.*

When the Emperour Conſtantine *was Cryſtened, he ſpake thus to Pope* Sylveſter: *In that I have geven my hous to the wurſhip of God, graunt you mekely his grace to all theim that willingly come to this town: Then anſwered Pope* Sylveſter, *Our Lord Jheſu Cryſte, that by his grete mercy hath purged you of your grete lazary, he mought purg all them that viſite this Chirch of all hur ſyn, and all oder penaunce.*

He that wooll not beleve this may go to Seint Latrynes *before the quyer dore, and ther he may ſee in Marbill all that is wrytten here.*

From Seynt John's *day till Scrovetyde all this pardon is doubled, and fro Scrovetyde to Eſter the pardon is threfold double: Bleſſyd is he that may deſerve to have this pardon. And in the ſame Chappel aboveſaid may come noe weemen.*

Item, *About that Chappell on the left ſyde ther are ſteppis which ſomtime ware at* Jheruſalem, *and who ſo gothe up tho ſteppis on his knees, he deliveryth one ſole out of Purgatory.*

Item,

Item, *In the Chirch of Seynt* Euſtace *ye may have releſe and pardon of all ſynne.*

And he that is ſhreven and repentant of his ſyn he hath a M *yere pardon, and as many karyns.*

Then follow the Indulgences granted unto other lower Churches in *Rome*, but by theſe ſpecifi'd, you may judge of all the reſt. And then the Relater, according to his promiſe, proceeds to tell the Reader what a *Karyne* is.

A Karyne, *(ſaith he) is to goe Wulward* vij *yere:* Item, *To faſten bred and water the Fryday* vij *yere:* Item, *In* vij *yere not to ſlepe one night wher he ſlepeth one oder.* Item, *in* vij *yere not to com under noe covered place, but yf it be to here maſſe in the Chirch dore or porch:* Item, *In* vij *yere not to ete ne drynk out of no veſſell, but in the ſame he made his avow in.* Item, *he that fullfills all thes poyntis* vij *yere during, doth and wynneth a* Karyne, *that is to ſay, a* Lentdum. Karyne. Capiat qui capere poteſt.

And thus may a man have at Rome (as he concludes) *grete pardon, and ſoul helth: Bleſſyd ben all thooſe pepull, and in good tyme born, that reſſeveth all theſe graces, and well kepyth them. Of the which pardone and grace, our Lord Jheſu Chreſt mote graunt to all good Chryſten men.* Amen.

And thus, with the propoſal, and belief of theſe heavenly advantages, men, women, and Children, of all qualities, were continually drawn, and enticed to *Rome*, at their great charges, and expences, to partake of theſe tranſcendant graces. But to ſhew

ſhew the Popes charity, and liberality in theſe gracious Indulgences, we muſt know that they were granted alſo to many Churches, and Altars within this Kingdom, like cummin Seeds, moſt commonly depenſil'd upon the walls.

Againſt an Altar, thus: /

Wever Fun. Mon. 121. *Si quis Miſſam ad hoc Altare fieri curabit, plenariam peccatorum remiſſionem conſequetur. Si vero pro defuncti alicujus anima ad idem Altare legatur Miſſa, ſtatim in ipſo actu & celebratione miſſæ anima defuncti ex Purgatorio in cœlum aſcendet, & ſervabitur. Nihil Certius.*

But theſe home Indulgences were never eſteem'd ſo powerful, and effectual, as thoſe which were far fetch'd, and dear bought. And the profit accruing to the Popes, and Court of *Rome*, by vertue of theſe, was exceſſive great, and alwayes, ſince their firſt contrivance, eſteemed one of the Cardinal ſupports of the revenues of that See. And for the improvement thereof, theſe Romiſh Indulgences were ſometimes made Itinerant, and ſent abroad into other Countrys, under the managery of Commiſſioners, to be delivered out, and diſpenced for money, to ſuch as could not travel to *Rome* for them: (of which more anon, when we come to the Jubiles.)

Hiſt. of Counc. of Trent lib. 1. ſect. 13. Thus Pope *Leo* the Tenth, a man very liberal in rewarding his kindred, and Courtiers,

tiers, when ſome other fountains were dryed up, whence riches uſed to be drawn out of other Nations to the Court of *Rome*, thought fit to ſerve himſelf of that of Indulgences; and ſped ſo well in that project, that he gave to divers perſons the Revenues of divers Provinces, reſerving ſomething to his own Exchequer: and particularly he gave the Indulgences of *Saxony*, and of that arme of *Germany* which reacheth from thence to the Sea ſide, to his Siſter *Magdalen*, the wife of *Franceſchetto Cibo*, baſtard Son of Pope *Innocent* the eighth, in recompence of the charges which the family of *Cibo* were at, when he retired himſelf to them at *Genoa* under *Alexander* the ſixth. Id. Sect. 16.

And hence it was, that *Franciſcus Soderinus*, Cardinal of *Praneſte*, called Cardinal *Volterra*, told Pope *Adrian* the ſixth, That no Reformation could be made, that would not notably diminiſh the Rents of the Church, which having four fountains, one Temporal, *viz.* the Rents of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate: the other three ſpiritual, *viz.* Indulgences, Diſpenſations, and Collations of Benefices; none of them could be ſtopp'd, but that one quarter of the Revenues would be cut off. Id. Sect. 27.

The Exemplification of the Holy Pardons at *Rome* before; acquaints us how thoſe graces were, and are there delivered out by whole-ſale, and in groſs ſumms: but there were ſome men that thought it ſurer to purchaſe them, as it were, by retail: and others

others again thought they were not ſure enough without they had them under hand, and ſeal, and the Pope's general warranty to them: thus,

W. Dugdale Hiſt. of S. Pauls Cathed. fc. 45.

Sir *Gerard Braybroke* Kt. and *Elizabeth* his Wife, about the year 1400, were buried in St. *Paul's* Church in *London*: and in the year MDCVIII. the bones of Sir *Gerard* lying in a Coffin of Lead, caſed with wood, were digged up, at the Eaſt end of the South Iſle, ſiding the Quier, and with them an Indulgence from Pope *Boniface* the 9. which being eſteemed by the purchaſers thereof, without doubt, of great value, we will here exhibit a true tranſcript of the ſame.

Indulgentia Domino Gerardo Braybroke militi, & Dominæ Elizabethæ uxori ejus, per Bonifacium Pontificem Rom. ejus nomine nonum conceſſa.

BOnifacius Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto filio nobili viro Gerardo Braybrok juniori Militi: & dilectæ in Chriſto filiæ, nobili mulieri Elizabethæ ejus uxori, Lincolnienſis Diœceſis, Salutem, & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Provenit ex veſtræ devotionis affectu, quo nos & Romanam Eccleſiam reveremini, ut petitiones veſtras, illas præſertim quæ animarum veſtrarum ſalutem reſpiciunt, ad exauditionis gratiam

riam admittamus. Hinc est, quod nos vestris supplicationibus inclinati, ut Confessor, quem quilibet vestrum duxerit eligendum omnium peccatorum vestrorum, de quibus corde contriti, & ore confessi fueritis, semel tantum in mortis articulo, plenam remissionem vobis in sinceritate fidei Apostolicæ S. Rom. Ecclesiæ, ac obedientia, & devotione nostra, vel successorum nostrorum Rom. Pontificum canonice intrantium, persistentibus, authoritate Apostolica concedere valeat devotioni vestræ, tenore præsentium, Indulgemus. Sic tamen, quod idem Confessor, de his de quibus fuerit alteri satisfactio impendenda, eam vobis per vos, si supervixeritis, vel per hæredes vestros, si tunc forte transieritis, faciendum injungat: quam vos vel illi facere teneamini, ut præferatur. Et ne vos (quod absit) propter hujusmodi gratiam reddamini procliviores ad illicita in posterum committenda, nolumus, quod si ex confidentia remissionis hujusmodi forte aliqua commiseritis, quo-ad illa prædicta remissio vobis nullatenus suffragetur. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam nostræ concessionis & voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, & beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Dat. Romæ, apud S. Petrum, Nonas Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo, & Anno Domini MCCCXC.

A little further to shew the power, and vertue of these Indulgences, to draw the

Peoples mony, and I think the beſt effect of theſe *piæ fraudes*, we may note, how by means thereof many of our Churches, and religious houſes, were, from time to time, built, and repaired: As the Abby, and Church of *Crowland* by the relation of *Petrus Bleſſenſis*, in the time of K. *Hen.* 2. by an Indulgence for the third part of Penance injoined for ſins committed, to all that helped forward the work. And, to inſtance in no more but the Cathedral of St. *Paul's* in *London*, a multitude of Letters are avowed by Mr. *Dugdale* to have been by him ſeen, and read, by which Indulgences, extending to certain numbers of days, for penance was granted to all ſuch as, being contrite, and confeſt, ſhould afford their help to ſo good a work: particularly,

Camb. Brit. in Lincolnſh.

W. Dugdale Hiſt. of St. Pauls Cath. fo. 11, 12.

An. D. 1228. *Hugh Foliot*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, granted an Indulgence for 20 days penance, to be in force for ſeven years.

An. D. 1230. *Richard Wetherſhed* Archb. for 40 days penance.

An. D. 1235. *Henry* Archb. of *Colen* in *Germany*, granted for the ſame purpoſe relaxation of 50 days penance.

Afterwards, in the reign of K. *Hen.* 3. theſe ſeveral Indulgences were granted, *viz.*

Edmund Archb. of *Cant.* for 20 days penance.

Walter Archb. of *York* for	40.
Joſcelin Biſhop of *Bath.*	38.
Walter Biſhop of *Carl.* for	40.
Rich. Biſhop of *Rocheſter.*	40.

Hugh

Hugh Biſhop of *Cov.* and *Lichf.* 30.
William Biſhop of *Norwich.* 20.
Cum multis aliis, &c.

Afterwards, in the year 1244 comes an Indulgence from *Walter* Biſh. of *Norwich*, extending to thoſe which ſhould either, for devotions ſake viſit the Tomb of *Roger Niger*, or give aſſiſtance unto the work. As alſo ſome time after, another for the like purpoſe, from *Richard* Biſhop of *Exeter*. An. D. 1244. An. D. 1252.

In the ſame year, Pope *Innocent* the 4. ſent out a Pardon for 40 days penance, to all ſuch as ſhould aſſiſt to carry on the work.

But, in the year following, *Laurence* Biſh. of *Rocheſter*, in his Indulgence, adds the viſiting of the ſaid Tomb of *Roger Niger*.

To theſe ſucceed the Indulgences of
Boniface Archbiſhop of *Cant.* for 40 days. 1253
John Biſhop of *Landaff* for 20 days. 1254.
William Biſhop of *Sarum* for 20 days. 1255.

Afterwards, the fruits of theſe being found, a multitude of Letters hortatory were iſſued out by ſeveral Biſhops, with Indulgences, as aforeſaid, for the ſame purpoſe, *viz.* by

Fouk Baſſet Biſhop of *Lond.*
Richard Biſhop of *Lincoln.*
Giles Biſhop of *Salisbury.*
John Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*
Walter Biſhop of *Salisbury.*
Robert Biſhop of *Durham.*
Godfry Biſhop of *Worceſter.*
Thomas Biſhop of *Hereford.*

An. D. 1281. And after all this, within a few years, another Letter hortatory iſſued out by *John* Archb. of *Cant.* affording the ſame number of days, for Indulgence, as the other Biſhops had done. The like from *William* Biſhop of *Norwich.* And ſome time after that the like

An. D. 1283. from *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, and *Roger* Biſh. of *Salisbury*.

After which, one *Simon*, a Cardinal of *Rome* gave one hundred days releaſe to all ſuch as ſhould give to the repair of the whole fabrick.

With theſe came alſo contributions from *Ireland*, which began *An. D.* 1237. and continued ſeveral years, granted by

Chriſtian Biſhop of *Emely*, for 20 days.
William Biſhop of *Leghlin*, for 30 days.
Gilbert Biſhop of *Imely*, for 21 days.
Iſaac Biſhop of *Killalow*, for 8 days.
William Biſhop of *Conor*, for 40 days.
Thomas Biſhop of *Elfin*, for 40 days.
David Biſhop of *Caſhall*, for 40 days.
Thomas Biſhop of *Down*, for 40 days.

And, to ſhut up the bead-roll, there came only one from *Scotland*, *viz.* from *Albinus* Biſhop of *Brechin*, whoſe Indulgence reached but ten days: but then of ſuch extent, that it included all perſons, who for devotion ſake, ſhould viſit the Altars of St. *Edmund*, Archbiſhop of *Cant.* and St. *Edward* the King, ſcituate in that Cathedral, and there either pray for the ſoul of the Lady *Iſabel de* * *Brus*, or give ſomething to the Fabrick.

* Daughter to William King of Scotland, and wife to Robert Brus of Annandale.

Thus

Thus you see how that in several times, and ages, several Bishops practised this power of granting of Indulgences; but that practice being experimented derogatory, and prejudicial to the Supremacy of *Rome*, an Act of resumption passed in that Court, and the power of granting Indulgences reduced, and fixed where they took their first rise.

Now, to what summ, or summs, the moneys raised by Indulgences, and appropriated to *Rome*, amounted to, we may well conceive them to exceed all account; when as once in the *Switzer's* Country, a scanty and barren place to *England*, there was at one time raked up, by these Indulgences, managed by one Frier *Samson* of *Milan*, no less than One hundred and twenty thousand Crowns. And the Contemplation of their efficacy for that purpose, made one once say, That the Pope could never want money, so long as he could hold a pen in his hand; and one of the Popes themselves thus prophanely to boast, *Quantas nobis divitias comparavit hæc fabula Christi!* but no more of that.

Hist of Counc. of Trent. lib. 1 sect. 27.

Lastly, for the Authority, and validity of these Indulgences, I gave you before the Opinion of a Romanist, I will now conclude with this of a Protestant, *viz.* That these Indulgences have no foundation, either in Antiquity, in Reason, or in Scripture: Not in Antiquity, in regard they began but about 400 years ago: Not in Reason, for how can one meer man satisfie for another, dispence with another, to another, and by another?

Vid. Chemnit. Examen de Indulg. ap. 4.

Not in Scripture, which ſays expreſly, *The blood of Chriſt which purgeth us from all ſin*; and, *When we have done all we can, we are unprofitable ſervants.*

CHAP. VIII.

Reliques, &c.

RElIques, Agnus Dei's, Croſſes, Pictures, Beads, Swords, Bracelets, Feathers, Roſes, Shoos, Boots, Parings of Nails, Drops of Milk, drops of blood, Hair, Medals, Aſhes, Duſt, Rags, Chips, Conſecrated Wax, and innumerable other hallowed knacks, come next in play: And by theſe the People were conſtantly gull'd out of their money: For theſe were daily brought over from *Rome*, and bartered for Gold, and Silver: a cheat practiſed, to my knowledge, upon many *Devota*'s at this day.

Amongſt theſe commodities, having named the Beads, thoſe precious helps of Romiſh devotion, and the Virgin *Mary* being ſometimes obſerved painted with Beads in her hand, ſome have therefore conceived them to have been of Divine, or Apoſtolical Inſtitution: But *Polydore Vergil* informs me, that *Peter* the Hermit, about the year 1090. was the firſt Inventor of them, to be as trammels to hold their Offices, and Devotion, to a right pace: At firſt (ſays he) they were made of wood; but, *Hodie* (ſays he again)

Polyd. Verg. de Invent. rerum. l. b. 5. cap. 9.

again) *tantus honor calculis acceſſit, ut non modo ex ligno, ſuccino, & corallio, ſed ex auro, argentoq; fiant, ſintq; mulieribus inſtar ornamenti, & hypocritis præcipui fucoſæ bonitatis inſtrumenti*; that is, At this day Beads are in ſuch eſteem, that they are not only made of Wood, Amber, and Coral, but alſo of Gold, and Silver, uſed by Women as Ornaments; and by Hypocrites as inſtruments of fained devotion.

Then, for theſe, and all the other precious things before mentioned, ſuch vertue was imputed to them, that ſcarce any that had money, would ſtick to give the rates ſet upon them: eſpecially when it was given out, and believed, they had power, and vertue, to fortifie againſt Temptations: infuſe, and ſtrengthen grace: fright, and drive away the Devil, and all evil ſpirits: allay winds, and tempeſts: purifie the air: ſecure from thunder, and lightning: ſtop all raging infections, and contagions; and be as panpharmacons againſt all diſeaſes: with a multitude more benefits, and advantages which they brought to the poſſeſſors of them: All which, I ſay, being conſidered, who would be without ſuch precious things, when they might be had for money? Beſides, it always was (as was but reaſonable) in the Pope's power, to ſet his own price upon his own commodities, as beſt knowing the vertue, and value of them. And then ſuch hallowed things, the dearer they were, the better, and more virtual they were eſteemed; like Tobacco, and ſuch other

fantaſtical commodities, that take their eſtimation amongſt the fond, ignorant, and undiſcerning, far more from their high price, than their intrinſick worth, and value. And, as one ſpecimen of the reſpect which theſe Reliques, and trifles once had, as alſo how their eſteem fell; there is a pretty ſtory, That upon the diſſolution of Monaſteries, and Abbies here, in the time of King *H.* 8. care was taken, that upon the ſurrender of any foundation, the debts of the Houſe ſhould be paid. Now ſo it was, that there had belonged to one of the Monaſteries, as part of their treaſure, a piece of St. *Anthony*'s finger, covered only with an ounce of Silver; which *Relique* the Houſe had pawn'd to one for Forty pounds, who repairing to the Commiſſioners for his money, and offering to deliver the pledge, they refuſed to redeem it, as not taking it to be of ſo much value, and ſo left the cheated Broker to make the beſt he could of the forfeiture.

Lo. Herb. Hiſt. Hen. 8. fo. 377.

And beſides the price of theſe Reliques, and Wares, at the firſt hand, many of the more famous ſort of them were made daily pick-pockets to multitudes who brought their devotion, and offerings in vows, and pilgrimages to them, when they were kept, and expos'd at ſome famous place. For,

As theſe Reliques, many of them, were bought up, and ingroſt by private perſons, ſo multitudes of them were treaſur'd up, and preſerved in Cathedrals, Abbys, and Religious Houſes: And that we may make ſome eſtimate

estimate of the number, and quality of them, we are here again beholden to Mr. *Dagdale*, for exhibiting an Inventory of such as were once kept in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s in *London*.

Hæ sunt Reliquiæ quas Radulfus d'Diceto Decanus Lundoniæ contulit S. Paulo. W. Dugd. Hist. of S. Pauls. fo. 234.

De Cultello Domini.
De Capillis S. Mariæ Magdalenæ.
De S. Stephano Papa & Martyre.
De Osse beati Laurentii Martyris.
De Pallio aliisque reliquiis S. Martini Turonensi. Episcopi.
De S. Marco, & Marcellina Martyr.
De S. Victore Martyre.
De Testa S. Ypoliti Martyris.
De Baculo S. Martini Turon. Episcopi.
De S. Oswaldo Rege & Martyre.
De Stola & pallio S. Maximini.
De Baculo S. Maximini Treverensi. Episcopi.
De Capite S. Eugenii Martyris.
Os cujusdam Martyris de sociis S. Mauritii.
De Sandaliis & Sudario & Casula S. Remaclii.
De Osse & vestimento S. Walburgæ Virginis, & de margaritis armillæ ipsius.
De Osse Alexandri Papæ & Martyris.
De Pulvere reliquiarum.

Other

Other Reliques in the ſame Church.

A Veſſel of Cryſtall, with two ribs of St. *Laurence* in it.

A Cryſtal Veſſel containing ſome Reliques of St. *Swithin*, *Coſmus*, and *Damianus*, The ſepulcher of our Lord, St. *Mary*, *Mount Calvary*, and other Reliques.

A Cryſtal Cup containing the Hairs of the bleſſed Virgin, and the hand of St. *John* the Evangeliſt.

A Veſſel of Cryſtal holding ſome of St. *Paul*'s blood.

A Cryſtal Veſſel containing two pieces of the Head of St. *Thomas* the Martyr, ſome of his Hair, and Garment.

A Cryſtalline Veſſel containing ſome of the Garments, Milk, and Hair of the bleſſed Virgin.

A Veſſel of Silver gilt, made like a Cup, containing Reliques of SS. *Oſwald*, *Alban*, and *Dunſtan*.

A precious Image of St. *Paul*.

The Head of St. *Athelbert* King, and Martyr, in a Silver and gilt Box.

The cheek of St. *Ethelbert* Confeſſor, and Founder of the Church, with four Teeth only remaining in it, in a Silver and gilt Veſſel inrich'd with precious ſtones.

A Rib of St. *Richard* in a Silver Veſſel: and another of his Ribs in a Cryſtal Veſſel.

A Veſſel of *Jaſper*, lined with plates of Silver and gilt, containing Reliques of SS. *Andrew*,

Andrew, and *Philip* Apoſtles: of *Dionys*, and *Blaſe*, Martyrs: and ſome of the wood of St. *Andrews* Croſs.

A great black Cheſt of *Gilbert* Biſhop, containing a multitude of Saints Reliques.

Another Cheſt cover'd with red Silk, full of Reliques of divers Saints.

A little cheſt of Copper, full of Saint's Reliques.

A Box of Ivory, with Reliques of St. *Auſtin*, and others.

A little Ivory Box, with Reliques of St. *Agnes*, and others.

A Silver gilt Box, with a multitude of Reliques in it.

A Coffer colour'd blew, with many Reliques in it.

A certain *Lapis de Iſrael*, expreſſing the Majeſty of God, inrich'd with Silver and many precious ſtones.

A curious conſecrated Image of the Bleſſed Virgin, with her Son, holding a Pearl in her right hand, richly adorn'd.

The great Arm of St. *Melitus*, curiouſly adorn'd.

The little Arm of St. *Melitus*, in a border of Gold.

The Arm of St. *Oſith*, holding her Head in her hand, adorned very richly.

The Head of St. *Gamaliel*.

Another Arm, with ſome bones of the 11000 Virgins.

A Cryſtallin veſſel, containing many Reliques of St. *Thomas* the Martyr.

Three

Three holy Croſſes, with the Images of the Crucifix, St. *Mary*, and St. *John*, of Silver gilt.

A Silver gilt Croſs, with the Crucifix, St. *Mary*, and St. *John*, having on the top ſome part of the wood of the Holy Croſs.

Many other curious Croſſes, and Crucifixes.

Many other Coffers, Cheſts, Boxes, and Veſſels, all ſtuffed with precious Reliques, *Agnus Dei's*, *Beads*, &c.

The Rochet of St. *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Cant.*

The Reliques of St. *Apollonia*, and a multitude more.

Cont'n. Matt. Weſtm. in An. 1314.

On the top of the ſpire was a great Croſs, wherein were many Reliques of divers Saints, put there by *Gilbert de Segrave* Biſhop of *London*, to the intent, that by the glorious merits of thoſe Saints, the Steeple might be preſerved from Tempeſts.

Speed Chron. in Canut.

King *Canutus*, as our Hiſtorians generally ſay, in his return from *Rome*, bought at *Pavia* the Arme of St. *Auguſtin*, the great Doctor of the Church, and gave it unto *Coventre*, for which he paid one hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold: though others ſay it was *Egelnotus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that bought it, and as a *memorial Cover* of his reſpect to Earl *Leofric*, gave it to his City of *Coventre*. But were it the one, or the other, I find not any abatement in the price; which being ſo large, it gave it the greater reputation, to draw

Hen d'Knighton col. 2318.
Godwin in vita Egelnoti.

multi-

multitudes, with great expences, to visite it.

But the bounty of this K. *Canutus* appear'd most excessive to the *Abby* of *Hide* near *Winchester*, to which he gave a Cross, so costly for the materials, and curious for the making, that he bestowed as much thereon, as his own years revenue of all *England* amounted to: But the fate of this Costly Cross, was, that about the raign of K. *Henry* the sixth, it was burn'd, with the whole Monastery, by the malice, and practice of *Henry de Blois* Bishop of *Winchester*. Cambd. Britt. in Hanshire, fo. 266. Speed in vita Canuti.

To all these Reliques, and hallowed wares, and infinite more *ejusdem farinæ*, wherewith our *Abbies*, monasteries, and Cathedrals were furnished, according to the blind, and extravagant devotion of those times, a strange veneration, and esteem was had by the People, until the Reformation made many notable discoveries of the cheats, and delusions wrought in, and by them; as

Our Lady's *Girdle*, shewed in eleven several places, and her milk in eight. Lo. Herb. Hist. Hen. 8. fo. 431.

The Bell of St. *Guthlac*, and the *Felt* of St. *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, both remedies for the Head-ach.

The *Penknife*, and Boots of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and a piece of his shirt, much reverenced, and confided in by great-bellyed women.

The Coals that roasted St. *Laurence*.

Two, or Three Heads of St. *Ursula*.

Malchus

Malchus his Ear. And the parings of St. *Edmund's* nails.

The Image of an Angel with one wing, which brought hither the ſpears head that pierced Chriſt's ſide.

An Image of our Lady, with a Taper in her hand, as burned nine years without waſting, till one forſwearing himſelf thereon, it went out, and was then found to be but a piece of wood.

Our Lady of *Worceſter*, from which certain veils, and dreſſings being taken away, there appear'd the Statue of a Biſhop, ten foot high.

Cambd. Brit. in Norfolk. Stow in An. 1538.

Our Lady of *Walſingham*, the *termina* of many a coſtly, but fruitleſs Pilgrimage.

The *Rood* of *Grace*, at *Boxley* in *Kent*, made with divers vices, and wiers, to turn the eyes, and move the lips, was ſhewed publickly at *Paul's* Croſs, by *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and there broken, and pull'd in pieces, the people laughing at that, which they ador'd but an hour before. And here it will not be amiſs a little further to give you the *Legend* of this famous *H. Rood*: which I find this: An Engliſh Artiſt being taken Priſoner, in the warrs between us and *France*, and wanting money for his ranſome, ſet his wits on work, to make ſome famous piece, and having got ſome materials, he made a curious Rood, the like had never bin ſeen, for it's geſtures, and moving all it's Joints, as bowing the head, lifting up it's ſelf, rolling the eyes, ſhaking the hands, knitting

Lambert Peramb. of Kent, in Boxley.

The Rood of Grace at Boxly.

knitting the brows, *&c.* which being finiſhed, he got leave, upon his parol, to bring it into *England*, to ſell, and make money of it for a ranſome, and layd it on the back of a Jade, which he drove before him: coming to *Rocheſter*, and ſtaying there, to drink, the Jade went forwards, a way not intended by the Maſter, and ſtayed not till he came to *Boxly*, and running to the *Abby* Church dore, he made ſuch a knocking, and bouncing againſt the dore with his heels, that at the noiſe the *Abbot*, and Monks came, and open'd the dore, which no ſooner done, but the beaſt ruſh'd in, and ran to a certain piller, and there ſtood: whilſt the monks were buſie in taking off the load, in comes the owner puffing, and ſweating, and ſatisfying them that the Jade, with his load, was his property, endeavours to lead him out of the Church, but notwithſtanding all his beating, and pulling, the reſty beaſt would not ſtir one inch from the piller; then he takes off the Image, thinking to carry it away himſelf, but that would not ſtir neither, and therefore after much heaving, and lifting to no purpoſe, they all thought that God had ſent, and deſtin'd it to that Houſe, like another *Palladium*, and ſo the *Abbot*, and Monks giving the Maſter his price for it, they ſet it up juſt at that piller, where it ſtood for many years, doing rare feats, to the inriching of the Houſe; till it was eaſily removed to *Paul's* Croſs, and there uncaſed, as you have heard before.

In

S. Rumwald. In the ſame Church there was alſo the Image of St. *Rumwald*, which was a very ſmall one, the repreſentation of a Boy-Saint: and the uſe of this Image was this; If you were minded to have any Benefit by the Rood of Grace, you muſt be ſhriven by one of the Monks firſt, and then by lifting at this St. *Rumwald*, proof was made whether you were in clean life, as they ſaid, or no; and if you proved to be clean, then was your way made for your offering to be accepted before the holy Rood: If you were not clean, which was known by your not being able to lift that little Image, then you muſt be confeſs'd again, on preſumption you had conceal'd ſome foul ſins. But then here was the trick on't, the Image being ſmall, hollow, and light, that a Child of ſeven years old might eaſily lift it, there was a divice to faſten it to a poſt with a pin of wood, which a Knave ſtanding behind could put in, and out as he liſt, which pin being put in, the ſtrongeſt man could not ſtir it: and then when any perſon offered bountifully, the pin was pulled out, that he might eaſily lift it; but to one that prov'd ſtingy, the Image would not ſtir at all: and ſo, in ſtead of devotion, this frequently proved great paſtime, to ſee a great lubberly fellow tugge, and liſt in vain, at that which a Boy, or Girl, had eaſily took up before him.

The Blood of Chriſt at Hales in Gloceſter-ſhi. Another the like impoſture was practis'd at *Hales* in *Glouceſter-ſhire*, where the Blood

of

of Jesus Christ brought from *Jerusalem*, being kept, as was affirmed, for many ages, had drawn many great offerings to it from remote places: And it was given out, and believed, to have this property; That if a man was in mortal sin, and not absolved, he could not see it; otherwise he might see it very well: Therefore every man that came to see this Miracle, this most precious Blood, confessed himself first to one of the Priests there, and then offering something at the Altar, was directed to a Chappel, where the Miracle was shewed; the Priest who confessed him, in the mean time, retiring to the back part of the said Chappel, and putting forth a little Cabinet, or Vessel of Crystal, which being thick on the one side, that nothing could be seen through it, but on the other side thin, and transparent, they used diversly: For if a rich, and devout man entered, they would shew him the thick side, till he had paid for as many Masses, and given as large Alms, as they thought fit: After which, to his great consolation, and the assurance of his not being in mortal sin, they turned to him the thin side, where he might see the Blood: And all this at last was discovered to be the Blood of a Duck, every week renewed by the Priests, who to their great gain, kept the secret a long time amongst themselves.

The curiosity of some possibly may here expect to be gratified, in some memoirs

of the once famous Lady of *Walsingham*; and the notorious Sainted *Becket*, of the riches of his shrine, the confluence at his Jubile, with the reverence to his Reliques, and memory: But, in pursuance of my design of brevity, I shall referr them to the learned Mr. *Cambden*, for the first: and the industrious *Canterburian* Antiquary, for the other; with the assurance they will not fail of satisfaction on the matter: And, for what concerns *Becket*, I shall only add this, That the English Nuns at *Lisbon*, in *Portugal*, do pretend, that they have both the Arms of *Thomas Becket*; and yet Pope *Paul* the third in a Bull exemplified by *Sanders*, pittifully complains of the cruelty of K. *Hen.* 8. for causing all the bones of *Becket* to be burnt, and the Ashes scatter'd in the winds; the solemnity thereof recorded in all our Chronicles: and then how his Arms should escape that bone-fire, is very strange.

Cambd. Brit. in Norfolk. Will. Somner Antiq Cant. fo. 247. &c. Vid. Erasm. Coll. Pereg. Rel. ergo Anatomy of the Nuns at Lisbon. De Schism lib. 1. fo. 171.

We will pack, and shut up this show of Reliques with this one more memorable: In the raign of K. *Edw.* 6. the Teeth of St. *Apollonia* were in great esteem, as conceived effectuall to cure the Tooth-ach, and for that purpose were bought by many ignorant people, and carryed about with them: this being notified to the King, order was given, that all her Teeth should be brought in to a publick officer appointed to receive them, which being done, they filled a Tunne therewith: and so the cheat was discovered.

The consideration of the nature, and use of these

these Reliques, together with the Saints to whom they were affirmed to have belonged, the Miracles, and cures said to be wrought by them, and also the Indulgences, the subject of the last Chapter before; unriddles to me a certain difficulty, which hath puzled divers to give a satisfactory reason for: And that is, why the livings in *London* were antiently esteemed of so great value and so highly rated in the Kings Books, for first Fruits, and Tenths, when it is well known the Tiths, and Church dues there, are very small, and inconsiderable, compared to the Country Livings, whose certain profits, by reason of the predial Tiths, far out-strip those of *London*. And certainly this was the reason, because every Church in *London* was furnished either with some famous Saint, some precious Relique, some gracious Indulgences, some wonderful Miracle, or some other *pia fraus*, whereby, and whereunto, people were continually enticed to be suppliants and visitors, with their vows, and offerings: as at one Church was a Saint celebrated for giving easie travel to big-bellyed women: Another gave safety to Merchants, and Marriners, in their Sea voyages: here was cure for such a disease, and there for another: so that at every Church there was something virtual, and peculiar, to draw customers, and profit to the Priests. And then *London* being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, unto which people flocked from all quarters, both natives, and strangers, and none but had

their Special, and proper deſigns, griefs, and difficulties, or at leaſt curioſities, for which, if they wanted eaſe or ſatisfaction, there, as they were told, they might be ſure at one place, or other, to find it. And ſo the Prieſts never wanted vent, or cuſtomers for their wares; as *Mountebanks*, *Juglers*, *Punchinello's*, and ſuch like, with good ſucceſs, chooſe to open, and ſhow at Fairs, and at times, and places of the greateſt reſort, and concourſe of people. But then at the Reformation, when all theſe cheats were detected, and exploded, and the Churches cleared of them, and the Prieſts reduced unto their ſtanding legal revenues of Tiths, and Church dues: then all thoſe City livings fell ſo low, that the Pariſh dues reſpectively proved too ſmall to maintain one Prieſt: And thereupon the King, and State thought good, to make proviſion by a Decree, confirmed by *Act* of *Parliament*, that the Parſons, and Miniſters in *London* ſhould have a maintenance by the payment of the ſumm of two ſhillings and nine pence out of every Twenty ſhillings *Per annum* rent of Houſes, ſhops, &c. without which they could not have ſubſiſted. And more lately, for the better ſettlement of the maintenance of the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates in *London*, an Act of *Parliament* hath paſſed ſince the late dreadful fire, to aſcertain the annual revenue, and ſumms to be raiſed by every Pariſh for the maintenance of the Miniſters, and how the ſame is to be aſſeſſed, and paid: for which thoſe that

Stat. 37 Hen. 8. cap. 12.

Stat. 22 & 23 Car. 2.

that are further concern'd may consult the Act; whilest we prepare our selves to go on to the Jubile's, and Pilgrimages, which now call us away.

CHAP. IX.

Jubile's, Pilgrimages.

JUbile's Pilgrimages, Vows, *&c.* and confluences to *Rome*, both at stated, and arbitrary times, upon those accounts, were means to carry vast summs thither out of the Kingdom: the devout Travellers always when they came home, (though many of them hapned to drop short) saying as *Naomi*, after her peregrination, *We went out full, but return empty.* Whilest others who stayed at home, fearful, or unable to take such long, and perillous journeys, would not be behind in their liberal Donations, Bequests, and Presents; especially when they were perswaded, it was for their soul's health, and to which full hands would contribute as much, as bare feet: For, *A Papa undique nunciatum est, si Romam Jubilatum veniant, accepturos singulos peccatorum veniam: at his qui aut valetudine, aut negotiis impediti ire non poterant, fecit potestatem vota pecunia redimendi*; as the provision was in that case. Antiq. Brit. fo. 302.

Here I conceive it will not be impertinent to make a little inquiry into the Original, Uſe, and Ends of theſe Jubile's: And for that we muſt know, that Pope *Boniface* the Eight, (in ſome imitation of the Jewiſh Jubile) in the year 1300. inſtituted the firſt Jubile, promiſing remiſſion of all their ſins, to all ſuch as ſhould, at Jubile time, viſit the *Limina Apoſtolorum* at *Rome*: *Laſſels*, a modern Traveller, in his voyage of *Italy*, affirms theſe *Limina Apoſtolorum* to be ſome ſteps about the High Altar in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*. And this Pope *Boniface* ordained ſhould be obſerved every hundred year: at which ſolemnity there was ſuch a confluence of people, that they ſcarcely could all crowd into the City. After that *Clement* the Sixth appointed the Jubile to be celebrated every Fiftieth year, that all men might be in compaſs to receive the benefit of it; the hundred year Jubile, like the *Ludi Seculares* in old *Rome*, being thought too much out of diſtance for many that might thirſt for the comforts of a Jubile. But then Pope *Sixtus* the 4. out of compaſſion to all thoſe longing ſouls, appointed the Jubile to be kept every Five and Twentieth year, and began it in the year 1475. But laſtly, Pope *Alexander* the 6. in a ſtrain of Charity beyond all the reſt, and to accommodate all that ſhould deſire the benefits of a Jubile, to ſave the charges, and hazard of journeying to *Rome*, as alſo to improve the profit,

Platina in vita Bonifac. 8. Polydor. Vergil. de Invent. rer. lib. 8. cap. 1. Laſſels voiage of Italy. part. 2. fo. 38.

An. D. 1350. Platin. in vita ejus. Vid. Chron. Will. Thorn. fo. 2195. Tho. Walſingh. in Ed. 3. fo. 160.

An. D. 1475.

Polyd. Vergil. ut ſupra.

profit, thought good to make over those graces, by way of exchange, to such as would pay a competent rate, seeing many could not, or would not come so far to fetch them: And in his time the Jubile falling in the year 1500, being the 16th. year of our King *H.* 7. he sent one *Jasper Pons*, a Spaniard, his Commissioner, over into *England*: One represented to have been better chosen, than such as went into *Germany*, on that account, who carryed the business with some prudence, and semblance of holiness: insomuch as he levyed great summs of money to the Pope's use, and with little scandal at that time: with whom, it was thought then, the King shared the moneys, although some argument was made to the contrary afterwards, by a Letter which Cardinal *Adrian*, the King's Pensioner wrote to the King from *Rome* some years after: for this Cardinal being to perswade the Pope, on the King's behalf, to expedite the Bull of Dispensation for the Marriage between Pr. *Henry*, and the Lady *Katharine*, to which the Pope seemed somewhat difficil, he used it as an argument of the King's merit to that See, that he had touched none of those Deniers that *Pons* had levyed in *England*.

Lo. Bacon H.ft. Hen. 7. fo. 199.

And now because the proceeding, and managery of this noted Jubile, as to the rates, and summs, that were paid upon the distribution of the Heavenly Grace (as they call'd it) in that manner, may give a little light to

what was done elſewhere in like caſe; we will here exemplifie the rates thereof, as they were Copyed out of an old Roll heretofore in the cuſtody of the late learned Sr. *Simonds d' Ewes*. The Roll contains the Articles of the Bull of the *holi Jubile of full remiſſyon and gret joy graunted to the Relme of* Englond, Wales, Irelond, *and* Garnſey, *according to the trew meaning of our holy Fader*: wherein was declared, *That the Kyng, with all his progeny, all Archebuſchopps, Buſchopps, Abbots, Duks, Erles, Barons, Knygtes, Sqyres, Gentilmen, Yeomen, Cetezins, and all oder Chryſten peple, which truly confeſſyd, and contryte, ſhold vyſit ſoche Chorches as ſhould be aſſigned by* Gaſpar Pons, *the Holi Fader's Imbaſſator, and ther put into the Cheſte ſoch ſum of mony as is here following taxed, ſhall have the ſame Indulgence, Pardon, and Grace, with remiſſyon of all ſyn, as if they had gone perſonally to* Rome *in the year of Grace*, &c. And then, after ſome preliminary Articles, about ordering of the buſineſs, comes this,

Wever Fun. Mon. fo. 165.

The

The tax that every man ſhall put into the Cheſte that woll receyve the gret grace of Jubeley.

FVrſt, *every man, and woman, what degree, or condition, or ſtate ſoere they be, If he be Archebuſchop, Duk, or oder dignite ſpirituall, or Temporall, havyng londs to the yerely valour of* M M. l. *or above, if thei will receyve this gret Indulgens and Grace of this Jubiley, for themſelfs, and ther wyfes, and chyldren not maryed, ſhall wythout diſſeyt put into the cheſte ordeined for that entent of trew and lawful moni,* iij *l.* vij *s.* viij *d.*

Alſo every man and woman that hath londs and rents to the yerly value of M *l. muſt pay for themſelfs, and wyfs* xl *s.*

Item, *all thoſ that hath londs,* &c. *to the yerly valour of* CCCC *l. muſt pay* xxvj *s.* viij *d.*

Item, *All thoſ that hath londs,* &c. *to the yerely valour of* CC *l. muſt pay* xiij *s.* iv *d.*

Item, *All thoſ that hath londs,* &c. *to the yerely valour of* C *l. muſt pay* vi *s.* viij *d.*

Item, *All thoſ that hath londs,* &c. *to the yerely valour of* XL *l. muſt pay* ij *s.* vi *d.*

Item, *All thoſ that hath londs,* &c. *to the yerely valour of* XX *l. muſt pay* xvi *d.*

Item, *All men of Religion havyng londs,* &c. *to the yerely valour of* MM *l. muſt pay for themſelfs, and their Covent* x *l.*

Item, *Thoſ that hath londs,* &c. *to the yerely*

yerely valour of M *l. muſt pay for them and their Covent* v *l.* iv *s.*

Item, *Thoſ that hath londs*, &c. *to the yerely valour of* CCCCC *l. muſt pay for them and their Covent* iij *l.* vi *s.* viij *d.*

Item, *All thoſ that hath londs*, &c. *to the yerely valour of* CC *l. muſt pay for them and their Covent* xx *s.*

Item, *Thoſ that hath londs*, &c. *to the yerely valour of* XL *l. muſt pay for them and their Covent* x *s.*

Item, *Secular men and wemen that hath londs*, &c. *to the yerely valour of* XL *l. whoſ movable goods extendyth to* M *l. muſt pay for themſelfs and their wyfs* xl *s.*

Item, *Thoſ whoſ goods movable extendyth to* CCCC *l. muſt pay for themſelfs and wyfs* vi *s.* viij *d.*

Item, *Thoſ whoſ goods movable extendyth to* CC *l. muſt pay for themſelfs and wyfs*, iij *s.* iv *d.*

Item, *Thoſ whoſ goods movable be within* CC *l. and not undre* XX *l. muſt pay* xij *d.*

Item, *Thoſ whoſ goods movable extendyth not to* XX *l. ſhall pay for themſelfs their wyfs and children as it ſhall pleaſe them of their devotion.*

After all this come certain Articles of the Bull of Diſpenſation with Simony, Uſury, and of goods as be *wrongfully keped*, reſerved to the Comiſſary only. *Alway provyded, that the ſeyd perſons make a compoſycyon hereof with the ſeyd Comiſſary, and ſoche moni as thei*

thei compound for, effectually to pay to the ſeyd Comiſſary.

It was the Pope's Charity alſo to impart theſe Graces, and the benefits of a Jubile, to all Countreys under his Spiritual Juriſdiction, upon ſuch, and the like terms, and conditions; whereby Grace, and Heaven were bought, and ſold, as firm as any goods in a Market overt.

By vertue of all theſe proviſions you ſee how eaſie it was at laſt for all ſorts of perſons to attain the benefits, and happineſs of a Jubile; where Pardons, and Indulgences might be had as cheap as heart could wiſh. Nay, who would not ſcrape, and run, and give all he was worth, at ſuch an opportunity, for ſo mighty an advantage, as the pardon of all his ſins? A far more bleſſed time this, than that of the Hebrew Jubile, when only the Bondmen of their own Country were made free, and poſſeſſions returned again to their firſt owners: But here was to be obtained freedom from the bondage of ſin, and the Devil; and Livery, and Seiſin of an eternal Inheritance in the Heavens. In a belief whereof, there were ſeen perſons of all ſorts, ſexes, and ages, flocking and crowding to participate of this Holy, and Heavenly Treaſure: Old men rejoycing they had liv'd to ſee ſo happy a day; and young men catching at the opportunity, leſt they ſhould not live the revolution of another Jubile: And thoſe that could not go themſelves, if they

they ſent but mony enough, all was well enough.

Then, as theſe Jubile's were celebrated at ſome ſtated times; the Pilgrimages were undertaken, and performed daily, and by multitudes, and that upon ſeveral accounts: for,

Pilgrimages. Peregrinatio Religionis ergo.

Pilgrimages were, when any perſon, (either out of Devotion: or by way of Penance: or in performance of ſome vow, after recovery from ſome deſperate ſickneſs, or ſome great danger eſcaped: or to obtain the favour, merits, or interceſſion of ſome Saint: or in adoration of ſome famed Image, or precious Relique: or to ſuper-errogate, to the charitable augmentation of the Churches Treaſury; or other like cauſe:) undertook, and performed a Journey to ſome Holy place, as to the Holy Land, the Lady of *Loretto*, St. *James* of *Compoſtella*, but generally, and eſpecially to *Rome* the Holy; and from thence theſe Pilgrimages were anciently, and often called *Romeria*, and Pilgrims *Romipetæ*. And when the Pilgrim arrives there, preſently he addreſſes himſelf to viſit the Martyr's Sepulchers: the ſtately Churches, and Altars: the holy Shrines, and Reliques there ſhewed: the moſt famous miracles there ſaid to be wrought: and, if poſſible, to kiſs the Pope's Toe; however, to put his head under the foot of the Image of St. *Peter* ſtanding in St. *Peter's* Church there, in token of ſubjection to his Succeſſor.

Romeria. Romipeta.

Iaffe's Voiage or Italy part 2. fo. 41.

for, All which, and much more, being performed, with fitting devotion, and offerings, the poor Pilgrim thinks himself very happy, and his pains, and money well bestow'd: whil'st the loose Italians scoff at the foolish *Tramontano*'s, as they call them, for making such idle, fruitless, and chargeable expeditions. But when our Pilgrim returns home, he appears, *Obsitus conchis imbricatis, stanneis imaginibus oppletus, undique culmeis ornatus torquibus, brachium habet ova serpentum*, &c. as *Erasmus* describes him. But not with one penny of money in his pocket: though seldom, or never without a meager Fanatick looks, a thredbare Coat, some scores to pay, and generally a disease into the bargain: it being a common Proverb at *Rome*, That men ordinarily carry away thence, *An ill Conscience, a bad Stomach, and an empty Purse*. And which is said to have caused *Ven. Bede* to make a voluntary mis-interpretation of those well known Letters, *S. P. Q. R.* to import this, *Stultus Populus Quærit Romam*.

Erasm. Coll.

Tritum Romæ Adagium, è curia tria reportari: malam conscientiam, stomachum languidum, & marsupium inane. Maffon.

Another sort there also was of religious Peregrinators, that travell'd the world called Palmers: and the difference between a Pilgrim, and Palmer was thus; The Pilgrim had some home, or dwelling place, but the Palmer had none. The Pilgrim travelled to some certain designed place, or places, but the Palmer to all. The Pilgrim went at his own charges, but the Palmer profest wilful poverty,

Palmers.

Vid les Antiquit. de Ville de Paris. Per Claud Malingre. f. 2. p.

poverty, and went upon Alms. The Pilgrim might give over his Profeſſion, and return home, but the Palmer muſt be conſtant, till he had obtained the Palme, that is, Victory over all his ſpiritual Enemies, and Life, by Death; and thence his name Palmer; or elſe from a ſtaff, or boughs of Palme, which always he carryed along with him. Not forgetting his ſcrip, wherein to put the Alms, and Charities of people.

The Jubile's being celebrated at *Rome*, and the Pilgrimages generally made thither, as to the place of the greateſt eſteemed ſanctity, as we have noted before, and as *Ven. Beda* anciently obſerved upon this occaſion, *Romam adire magnæ Virtutis æſtimabatur*; there was at all times obſerved a greater proportion of Engliſh to flock thither upon thoſe accounts, than of any other Nation; diſtance always increaſing ſuch kind of devotion: And this hath made me ſometimes reflect upon an uſual Obſervation of our Travellers, who deſcribing the Genius, Manners, Cuſtoms, and behaviours of the Italians, repreſent them as moſtly ſymbolizing with the Engliſh, and far more correſponding than the French, Spaniard, or any other Nation not ſo diſtant from us; And therefore I have been apt to think this agreement, or likeneſs might be wrought, in ſome meaſure at leaſt, by that great, and long intercourſe, and communication as formerly was uſed between the Italians, and the Engliſh, multitudes of them coming over hither for preferment, and upon

Beda Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 23.

upon ſeveral other accounts, as may be collected from divers inſtances in theſe Collections; but far greater numbers of ours running thither upon infinite occaſions, part whereof we have already touched, and ſhall note ſome others in the ſubſequent periods of our diſcourſes: And the Obſervation of a late Traveller favours this apprehenſion very much, who ſpeaking of *Rome*, The preſent Romans (ſaith he) ſeemed to me, in their houſes and furniture, particularly in their Beds and Lodging, in their diet, and in their manners and cuſtoms, and in their very pronunciation (ſo liquid, plain, and diſtinct) more to ſymbolize, and agree with us Engliſh, than any other people of *Italy*, which ſo is, either becauſe we learned of them, or they of us, or both mutually of each other, when there was that great commerce, and intercourſe between us and that City for ſo many years together: But for ſo much of all this as concerns the interchange of manners, and cuſtoms, I leave it to the conſideration, and obſervance of ſuch as have to deal with them; whileſt nothing is more certain than that by that communication, and commerce that happen'd between us, the Italians ingroſſed moſt of our wealth, and riches, which is ſufficient for the purpoſe of our preſent deſign. And indeed, as the occaſions of running, and flocking to *Rome* were infinite, ſo many that went thither, never came back again, reſolving to lay their bones in that holy ground; and many others over-grown with a longing zeal, would

Travels of Jo. Ray. fo. 368.

would purposely transplant themselves thither, as to the fountain of grace, and then their revenues, and estates must of course be transmitted after them, and spent there.

Now to shew, that the women would not be left at home in these zealous excursions, and to what purpose many of them went, I will be so bold as to give you one Paragraph out of a famous Epistle of advice from *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, to *Cuthbert* Archbishop of *Canterb.* which is this, ——*si prohiberet Synodus & Principes vestri mulieribus & velatis fœminis illud iter & frequentiam quam ad Romanam civitatem veniendo & redeundo faciunt, quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris: Perpaucæ enim sunt civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in quibus non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum, quod scandalum est, & turpitudo totius Ecclesiæ vestræ.* I was sorry, I confess, to find this blot upon the reputation of our Country-women on record in such manner; but that downright *Boniface* did not use to spare the faults of any that came in his way; if not the miscarriages of Princes, and Priests, much less could the notorious misdemeanors of the women miss him, from whom, it seems, many of the Italians may derive their pedigrees; and to that probably, in some measure may be assigned that agreement, and likeness which our Travellers observe between them, and the English, at this day, the communicated tincture being not yet worn out in so many descents.

Epist. Bonifac. Arch. Mogunt. ad Cuthb. Arch. Cant. in S. Hen. Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. fo. 241.

Vid. Epist. ad Ethelbald. in W. Malmsb. & Spelm. Sup. fo. 136.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Offerings, Gifts, and Presents.

Offerings, Gifts, Presents, Bequests, and Legacies, to Saints, their Altars, Shrines, and at Holy Places, amounted to a very great value. We have mentioned before, and shall have occasion to mention more of those many occasions, which many had, or made unto themselves, of running to *Rome*, upon Appeals, or as Ambassadors, Agents, or otherwise. And few would hope their journeys to prove successful, if they did not visite such famed Holy Places, with suitable Gifts, and offerings: whilst many that stayed at home, would take the opportunity, to send by the hands of others, what they had vowed, or design'd for that purpose.

The proximity, and commonness of a thing takes off much from the esteem conceived by hear-say, or first sight: Many famous Saints, and Shrines, we had here in *England*, and they were zealously adored, and presented from Forrainers; whilst the devotion of the English was not satisfied with our home objects; but he was the happy man, that could bestow something at *Rome* the Holy. And the *Italians* would laugh at the English, for their bigottry, as they call'd it, in travelling so far, with such ar-

Majore è Longinquo reverentia.

dent zeal, and liberality, to ſo little purpoſe, as they thought; in regard thoſe objects, by reaſon of their vicinity to them, and experienc'd inefficacy, were by them contemned: whilſt on the contrary, they themſelves, in a like ſtrain of Fanatick zeal, or devotion, would run to St. *James* of *Compoſtella*, in *Spain*; or to our St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, or further, to ſhew they could be as fond, and liberal in our quarters, as we had been in theirs.

And hence it was that the Shrines, and Altars, of many Saints became ſo exceſſive rich. What vaſt treaſure, in Jewels, Gold, and Silver, was conferred on our St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*; *Cuthbert* of *Durham*; Lady of *Walſingham*, and multitude more, in our own Country, both by natives, and ſtrangers, our Hiſtorians, and others, with admiration teſtifie. So, for the reaſons aforeſaid, great quantities of our Engliſh Gold, Silver, Jewels, &c. were ſwallowed up in the Treaſuries of Saints beyond the Seas, eſpecially in *Italy*, and at *Rome*.

Stows Anna's in Hen. 8. W. Somner Antiquit. of Cant. Eraſm. Pereg. Relig. Ergo. Antiq. of Durham. Camb. Britt.

The greateſt Treaſure, of that nature, thought to be in the world at this day, is at the Lady of *Loretto*, in *Italy*, eſteemed ſufficient, if ſo imployed, to maintain a Warr againſt the Turks many years: the fame being daily increaſed by Gifts, and offerings from thoſe who have an eſteem to the pretended Sanctity of the place. This Treaſury being ſhewed to Strangers, and Travellers, with admiration they behold, the

the most costly vestments, the hugest, and massiest Plate, the most precious Jewels, with the choicest rarities of Art, the world affords; and for Silver, the plenty of it there makes it of as little esteem, as in the days of *Solomon*: and all this, for the most part, the Oblations, Gifts, and Presents, of Kings, Princes, Queens, and Nobles of the Romish Religion, of other Countrys.

Now, to shew that all the Gifts, Presents, and Bounty did not always run to *Rome*, and *Italy*, but that sometimes there were *Vestigia pauca retrorsum*, we find that sometimes, and on some occasions, the Pope would send, as tokens of his grace, and benediction, some presents hither again, of which we will produce a few instances.

Pope *Alexander* the second, sent to *William* the Conqueror (besides a consecrated banner, and an *Agnus Dei*) one of the hairs of St. *Peter*. Speed in vit. Harald.

King *Henry* the second, obtained of Pope *Urban* the third, that he might make one Son of his Lord of *Ireland*, and particularly his Son *John*: to whom the Pope sent, as a special mark of grace, a Coronet made of Peacocks feathers, woven with gold. Roz. Hoveden in Hen. 2. Speed Chron. Hen. 2.

Pope *Julius* the second sent to K. *Hen.* 8. a precious consecrated perfumed Rose of Gold, and constituted *W. Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his Deputy to present it, with fitting ceremonies, as appears by his Letter, or Instrument, for that purpose, preserved amongst our Metropolitical Archives,

Cod. Ms. in Regist. principali Archb. Cant. (nuncupato Warham) fo. 26.

chives, in these words: *Venerabili Fratri Guilielmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Julius Papa Secundus, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Henricum Angliæ Regem illustrem, quem peculiari caritate complectimur, aliquo insigni Apostolico munere in hoc regni sui primordio decorandum putantes, mittimus nunc ad eum Rosam auream Sancto crismate delibutam, & odorifico musco aspersam, nostrisque manibus de more Rom. Pontificum benedictam, quam ei è tuâ fraternitate inter missarum Solemnia per te celebranda, cum ceremoniis in notula alligata contentis, dari volumus cum nostra & Apostolica benedictione. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, Die quinto Aprilis, Anno Millesimo quingentesimo decimo, Pontificatus nostri Septimo.*

Cam'. Elizab.

In the Irish rebellion, in the raign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Pope, as a token of favour, sent to *Desmond*, a principal Leader amongst the Rebels, a gracious *Agnus Dei*, and a hallowed Ring from his own finger, which *Desmond* wore about his neck, as a charm, or preservative against all dangers: But his traitorous Confederates being beaten, and dispers'd, this pittiful deluded favourite wander'd a long time in the woods, and bogs, till at last, almost starved, he was found in a poor Cattage, and notwithstanding his Defensative, had his head cut off by a common Souldier.

After-

Afterwards, in another rebellion in *Ireland*, the Pope sent to *Tir-Oen*, the grand Ringleader, for his incouragement, certain *Indulgences*, and a precious Plume of *Phœnix* feathers, for a Trophey of his victories: but they proved but *Icarus* wings, whereby he soared the higher, to get the more miserable fall. Speed Chron. in Eliz. b.

Sometimes again, the Pope, out of good Husbandry, rewards, or incourageth his Creatures with Titles of Honour; as *Thomas Stukeley*, an Arch Traitor to Queen *Elizabeth*, was by the Pope Created *Marqueſſe* of *Lagen*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Caterloghe*, *Vicount* of *Morough*, and Baron of *Roſſe*, all famous places in *Ireland*. And it was the Pope's deſign, if *Stukeley*'s Rebellion had ſucceeded, to have made his Son *James Boncompagno* King of *Ireland*. Biſhop Carlton's Remem. cap. 4. fo. 39. Greg. 13. Boon Companion.

CHAP. XI.

Collections.

Collections, and Contributions, set on foot, and vigorously promoted for divers purposes, was another means of draining great summs frequently out of the Kingdom. And amongst these, Contributions for relief of the Holy Land, as well for the quantity of the summs, as for the misimployment, were very considerable: but of that, we will note more anon, in a Chapter apart for that purpose. And here we will take notice of some other occasions, for which such Collections were made.

King *John*, to gratifie the Pope, granted license, and safe Conduct, to the Fryers of the Hospital of St. *Maries*, in *Rome*, to Preach, and make Collections throughout *England*, for the maintenance of their House, built by the Pope, as appears by his Letters Patents: *Rex omnibus suis fidelibus tam Clericis, quam Laicis, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus fratribus Hospitalis S. Mariæ in Saxia apud Romam licentiam prædicandi in regno nostro Angliæ; & fidelium eleemosynas caritative petendi & accipiendi ad sustentationem pauperum prædicti Hospitalis, secundum formam privilegii Apostolici quod inde habent. &c. Teste me-*

Pat. 15 Johan. m. 7. nu. 20.

ipso

ipſo apud Rading 10. *Die Decembris An. regni noſtri* 15.

In the ſeventh year of King *Edward* the firſt, ſome counterfeit Fryers, of the Order of St. *Anthony* of *Vienna*, wandring abroad, and Collecting Alms throughout *England*, the King, upon Complaint thereof, iſſued out his writ for their apprehenſion. Bre. Reg. 7 Edw. 1. in Turri Lond. Pro fratribus S. Antonii.

The *Abbots* of the *Ciſtercian*, and *Præmonſtratenſian* Orders beyond the Seas, impoſing ſubſidies, Aides, and Contributions, on the Monaſteries of their Orders in *England* then under them, whereby much money, wools, and other Commodities were tranſported out of *England*, to the great grievance, and miſchief of the Kingdom; King *Edward* the firſt, iſſued out writs to all the Sheriffs of *England*, to inquire of thoſe abuſes, and to ſtop the current of them: As by the ſaid writs ſtill preſerved upon Record it doth appear. And afterwards to ſtop the like exportation of moneys, and Goods, (for they would not be brought totally to give over) the ſame King, by his ſpecial writ, prohibited all of the *Ciſtercian* Order, except one, *viz.* the *Abbot* of *Gerendon Com. Leic.* who was of that Order, to preſume to go beyond the Seas on that account. Bundel. Inq. An. 26 Ed. 1. Pat. 27 Ed. 1. Pro Abbate de Gerendon.

So the *Abbot* of *Cluny* ſending his Proctors into *England*, to demand and Collect great ſumms of money from the Monaſteries, and Priories of their Order here, and on all Eccleſiaſtical perſons on whom they had

conferred Benefices, without the King's licenſe: the King ſent out his Writs, as well to the ſaid Proctors, to inhibite their proceedings; as alſo to the *Warden* of the *Cinque* Ports, not to permit any Monk of that Order, or any other Servant, or Meſſenger to paſs the Seas, or carry over any moneys, without his ſpecial licenſe; the writ to the *Warden* of the 5. Ports was thus: *Rex dilecto & fideli ſuo Roberto de Burgherſh Cuſtodi Quinque Portuum ſuorum, Salutem. Datum eſt nobis intelligi quod Abbas Cluniacenſis quoſdam ex ſuis Monachis in Angliam ſpecialiter deſtinavit, ad petendum & levandum, &c.* (reciting the occaſion at large) *Ideo vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quod nullum Monachum Ordinis prædicti, vailettum ſeu alium nuncium quemcunque pecuniam deferentem ad partes tranſmarinas tranſire permittatis, ſine noſtra licentia ſpeciali. Teſte Rege apud Blidam, &c.*

Clauſ. 28 Ed. 1. m. 14.

The like mandate went out afterwards to the Conſtable of *Dover*, and *Warden* of the *Cinque* Ports, not to permit any Canon, Valet, or other Meſſenger of the Order of the *Præmonſtratenſes*, to carry any moneys, or to paſs out of *England*, without the King's ſpecial licenſe, as was done before for *Cluny*.

Clauſ. 29 Ed. 1. m. 8. dorſo.

But yet ſo prevalent were theſe begging Fryers, by their importunities, and favourers; that the Monaſtery of *Cluny* having ſuſtained great loſſes, and being deeply in debt, as was ſuggeſted, the King, notwith-

withſtanding his former Prohibitions, was perſwaded to grant to the *Abbot* thereof, and his Agents, to come and collect an Aid, and relief from all the Cells, and Monaſteries here ſubject to that Order, and from all their Tenants within his Dominions, with full protection, and incouragement ſo to do; as by his Patent for that purpoſe, remaining upon Record, and too long to be here inſerted, it doth appear.

Cl. 34 Ed. 1. Pro Abbate Cluniacenſi.

And upon ſuch, and the like occaſions, it was that ſometimes privately, and at other times openly, and with the King's licenſe, Collections, and Contributions were ſet on foot, and carryed on throughout the whole Kingdom, wherein all art, and Rhetorick imaginable was uſed, by ſuing, Preaching, and begging, to draw people to unſtring, and depoſite according to their reſpective abilities, and inclinations: by which means, the Nation was always kept bare, and poor, whilſt the wealth thereof was carryed away into forrain parts, and moſtly unto the Kings Enemies, as appears by many complaints thereof, for that purpoſe made. Particularly, in a Parliament held *An.* 8 *Ed.* 3. a ſpecial Petition, and complaint was made by the Commons in that behalf. And afterwards, in ſeveral King's raigns, a multitude more to the like effect; as by our Parliamentary Records it doth appear, which for brevities ſake we here omit to ſpecifie, referring ſuch as would receive further ſatisfaction therein, to that excellent

Ror. Parl. An. 8 Ed. 3.

cellent Abridgement of the Tower Records, collected by the learned Sir *Robert Cotton*, and lately printed.

Speed in H. 8. nu. 77. Cardinal *Woolsey* at one time had raked up Twelve Barrels full of Gold, and Silver, to serve the Pope in his warrs, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Courts.

COurts, and Jurisdictions of the Pope, both at *Rome*, and within the Kingdom, drew constantly out of the People's purses incredible Masses of money. For, to these Courts belonged *Judges*, *Officials*, *Delegates*, *Referendaries*, *Commissaries*, *Dataries*, *Scribes*, *Notaries*, *Proctors*, *Registers*, *Summoners*, *Apparitors*, *Clarks*, *Sollicitors*, and a multitude of other Officers, who all by their places, and practice, grew rich, sent great summs to their chief, the Pope, and help'd to beggar the people. In these Courts all causes of Contentions, and Instance, between party and party, as also *ex officio*, were entertained, and cherished: And the charge, and expence going this way, was so much the worse, in regard of the danger, turmoil, and vexation continually attending those that had to do in these Courts: For by some other wayes men were wheadled, and gull'd out of their money, to their no small

ſmall content; but here they were ſqueezed, racked, and torture'd, as long as their purſes, or themſelves could breath.

Theſe Courts, at firſt were pretended to be inſtituted for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and cauſes only; But then, at the inſtance of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, many of the *Laicks* were cited to *Rome*, to make Anſwer concerning buſineſſes not at all belonging to the Cognizance of that Court, as matters of *Inheritances*, *Gages*, *Pawns*, *Contracts*, &c. And Laicks alſo, upon Oath, or Allegation, that they could not have Juſtice before their proper Judges, were admitted, and incouraged to bring their Cauſes to *Rome*, or out of the King's, into the Pope's Court. And thereupon the Pope's Judges, and Officers ſpared not to diſturb all other places of Judicature, in derogation of the King's authority, excommunicating all that would not obey them.

And theſe Courts, as they were managed, became an accumulative charge, and burden to the people: For the right of Patronage belonging to divers Lay, and Eccleſiaſtical perſons, was (under Colour of Prevention, or Proviſion) by the power and authority of theſe Courts, uſurped by the Pope, his Legats, and Officers, when Benefices were vacant; and then the ſame uſually conferred on Courtiers, Favourites, *Italians*, and Strangers: And theſe men dying, either at *Rome*, or in their way thither, or thence, their Benefices

fices were conferr'd again, by these Courts, upon others, to the great wrong of the right Patrons. And then great Benefices would not be conferr'd on worthy persons, or on any other, unless temporary gratuities, and continuing Pensions were first given, and secured out of them to the Courtiers, Dependants, and Officers of the Pope. And in granting these Benefices, many Arts were used to get money under the names of *Reservations*, *Permutations*, *Surrogations*, &c.

In these Courts also Excommunications were often denounced for trifles, but not taken off without great charge.

Confirmations of Foundations Ecclesiastical, Religious, and charitable, were here purchased with great summs of money.

When the Pope had any Aid, or exhibition from the Ecclesiasticks, here were contrivances that they should be sure to be repair'd again by the People.

All trifling frivolous causes drawn to these Courts, but no dismission without good payment.

No Publick Penance here awarded, without some private summs to be paid.

Licences for money to keep a *feme putein*. Money exacted of Monks, and Fryers for concubinage, on presumption they had or might have *quam pro quo*. Farming out Livings, and Benefices to poor Vicars, at such high rates, as they were forced to get their money again of the People by *Confessions*,

feſſions, *Anniverſaries*, *Obits*, &c. Burial denyed to all that died ſuddenly, or by chance, on preſumption they dyed in mortal ſin, until here ſome good ſumm was paid. With infinite other tricks, and devices, to draw money from the people, practiſed by theſe Courts, and their Officers, tedious to enumerate, but more intolerable to be born; as may in ſome meaſure appear by the Stat. of *Præmunire*, and *Proviſors*, pointed at in the former diſcourſe; with the Suits, Attachments, and Prohibitions, for ſuing for *Lay Fees* in theſe Courts, in derogation of the Crown, and impoveriſhing of the People, exemplified by Mr. *Prinne* out of the Tower Records.

Vid. Coke Plicit. Coron. cap. 53. W. Prin Record of King John H. 3 E. 1.

To theſe Courts alſo the Popes ſometimes would be ſo audacious as to cite even Kings themſelves, as claiming Juriſdiction over them. Thus Pope *Boniface* the eighth, having a Controverſie with our King *Edw.* 1. touching the Realm of *Scotland*, which the Pope affirmed belonged to the Church of *Rome*, wrote to the King, That if he pretended any Title to the Realm of *Scotland*, he ſhould ſend his Proctors to the Court of *Rome*, with all his evidences, proofs, and Inſtruments touching the ſame, there to have and receive Juſtice in the premiſes.

Matt. Weſtm. in An. 1301. fo. 435.

At another time Pope *Innocent* the fourth ſummoned King *Henry* the third, to appear to Anſwer to one of his *Vaſſals*, *David* by name, and to give him ſatisfaction, for

Weſtm. Matt. An. 1246. fo. 317.

for ſome wrongs, as he ſaid, he had done him. But, in the firſt caſe, the King, by advice of his Lords, and Barons, ſlighted the citation: and to the other nothing was return'd but ſcoffs, and deriſion.

CHAP. XIII.

Contributions for the Holy Land.

CONtributions for relief of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians in the Holy Land, and to carry on the War againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom, were frequently ſet on foot: And by that means great ſumms were as often drain'd out of the Kingdom: but then a ſmall, or no part thereof imployed for thoſe purpoſes. For to this end the Popes often prevailed with Princes to impoſe on their ſubjects, and made them the Inſtruments, on this pretence, to hook money out of their pockets.

Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. fo. 249.

Chron. W. Thorn. Coll. 1926. Gervaſ. Dorobern. 1522.

Johannes Ferentinus was ſent hither from the Pope about that matter *An. D.* 1206. and ſped ſo well in his negotiation, and carryed ſuch a great quantity of money away with him, that King *John* wrote to the Pope the next year, *Quod uberiores ſibi fructus proveniant de regno Angliæ, quam de omnibus regionibus citra Alpes*, &c. That the Pope had greater profits out of *England*, than

Matt. Paris in An. 1206. fo. 214.

than all other Countreys on this ſide the Alpes, *&c.* Nay and theſe Levys were continued ſometimes for ſix years together, as *Thorn* notes: wherein the Kings themſelves were wont to promote the buſineſs, by being indulged by the Popes to go ſnips in the gains. Thorn ut ſupr.

After the death of Pope *Clement* the 4th. the See of *Rome* continued void two years, and ten months, by reaſon of the great diſcord, and potent factions amongſt the Cardinals: And at laſt *Theobald*, the Arch-deacon of *Liege*, who had been comrade, and fellow-ſouldier with our King *Edw.* 1. in the Holy Land, was elected, and took the name of *Gregory* the 10th. whereupon was made theſe verſes, Matt. Weſtm. fo. 352. Contin. Matt. Paris. fo. 976. Tho. Walſingh.

Papatum munus tenet Archidiaconus unus,
Quem Patrem Patrum fecit diſcordia fratrum. An. D. 1272.

The Papal Office one Archdeacon takes,
Whom Father of Fathers Brethren's diſcord makes.

King *Edward* the Firſt coming out of the H. Land into *England*, after the death of his Father King *Henry* the Third, touch'd at *Rome*, where he was nobly entertained, and careſſed by his old friend this then Pope *Gregory* the 10th. and between them it was contrived to raiſe ſome great ſumms in *England*, under

under pretence of aid, and ſuccour for the Holy Land: and in purſuance thereof a ſpecial Nuntio was ſent from the Pope, to compell all Eccleſiaſtical perſons to pay Two years Diſmes: but ſo it happened, that as the moneys came in, the King, and the Pope's Collectors ſcrambled for it, but the Pope, as was believed, got the greateſt ſhare; and the King wanting for his occaſions of ſtate, was forced to borrow ſeveral ſumms of the Collectors, on ſufficient ſecurity given for repayment, as by the Bonds, Securities, Counter-bonds, and Acquittances, upon that occaſion, ſtill extant amongſt the Tower Records, may be ſeen; and by this token, that at one time the King received of the Pope's Collectors 100000 marks, but not one penny, as I can learn, employed for the uſe pretended.

Reimundus.

Pat. 20 Ed. 1. m. 10.

And from this practice of the King, and Popes going ſharers in theſe, and other ſumms, gotten from the People, when diſcovered, grew that infamous Proverb, *That the King, and the Pope were the Lion and the Wolf:* as, on the like diſtaſted occaſion, theſe Satyrical Rhimes had alſo been made,

Matt. Paris in An. 1255. fo. 917.

Eccleſiæ navis titubat, regni quia clavis
Errat: Rex, Papa, facti ſunt unica capa:
Hoc faciunt, Do, Des, Pilatus hic, alter Herodes.

Flor. Hiſt. An. 1306.

The

The Church's ſhip in ſafety cannot home paſs,
When the chief Pilot once miſtakes his Compaſs:
When King, and Pope are given both to plundring,
One *Pilate* proves, the other *Herod* thundring.

Which trick, of ſharing with the Popes, was learned by the French Kings, of ours: but ſome of them grew ſo cunning at laſt, as to put all that was raiſed that way into their own Pockets, and ſo out-ſhot the Pope in his own Bow. Arnold. Ferron. de reb. Gall.

CHAP. XIV.

Croisado's.

CRoisado's, and vowed expeditions to the Holy Land, and against Turks, and Infidels, dispenced withall, or commuted, was another trick of the like nature, and oftentimes brought great summs into the Pope's Exchequer.

S. Hen. Blunts voiage into the Levant.

For it being observed that the Turks ever warred against the Christians with great alacrity, upon a belief, that if they were killed, *ipso facto*, they went into *Mahomet*'s Paradise: The Pope, to beat the Turk at his own Weapon, would oftentimes publish a Croisado, that is, invite persons to undertake expeditions against the Infidels, upon promise of pardon of all their sins; *Quicunque Clericus, vel Laicus, crucem acceperit, ab omnibus peccatis suis, auctoritate Dei, & beatorum Apost. Petri & Pauli, & summi Pontificis, liberatus est, & absolutus*, as was declar'd in one of our Councils. Upon which multitudes of all sorts, as Kings, Nobles, and Common people, according to the zeal, and perswasion of those times, would vow to go, and list themselves for the Holy War, and in token thereof continually afterwards wore upon their Backs, the sign or badge of a Red Cross, as being to fight against the enemies of Christ's Cross.

Capitu'a apud Gaitintun. Chron. Gervas. fo 1522. Temp. Hen. 2. Spelm. Concil. Tom. 2. fo. 117. Rad. de Diceto Coll. 707.

Crouchbacks.

Now

Now the Pope being God's Lieutenant over these Troops, for mony would absolve these of their vows, or such of them, as upon second thoughts, desired to stay at home. Frequently would he also divert, and turn their Arms to other uses, as to subdue the Albigenses, Waldenses, and many others of the Popes private enemies. And *Matt. Paris* tells a story, how once the Pope sold these crossed Pilgrims to others, even for ready money, as the Jews did their Sheep, and their Doves in the Temple. Besides, when some great expedition was in hand, and great contributions made to carry on the War, the Pope must be made the Treasurer; but never gave any account of his disbursements, keeping, or converting all, or most of the money to his own use. Also in absence of Princes upon those expeditions, the Popes, and their Officers, took their full swings, to the inriching themselves, besides many other considerable advantages, and acquists, as by the Histories, and Complaints of Christendom, in that matter, most fully, and at large it doth appear.

Will. Malmsb. lib. 4. cap. 2.

Matt. Paris in An. 1250. f. 803.

CHAP. XV.

Ambaſſadors, Agents.

AMbaſſadors Leiger, and Extraordinary, Proctors, and Agents, conſtantly reſiding at *Rome*, with their retinues, and ſervants, maintained there by our Kings, drew as conſtantly great ſumms of money out of the Kingdom. For *Rome* being the ſeat of Policy, and the Popes making themſelves concern'd, and buſie in the affairs of all Princes, theſe took it, as it was indeed, their intereſt, to have continually their reſpective Agents, and Ambaſſadors there, to ſollicite for their Maſter's intereſt, to oppoſe contrary Factions, and to gain intelligences.

And for theſe, and the like purpoſes, our Kings always had two, three, or more at a time there: from, and to whom, multitudes of Internuntio's, Carryers, and Meſſengers, were continually poſting, and running, with Letters, Inſtructions, and Diſpatches; all occaſioning a vaſt expence. And by theſe it was, that the Popes were courted, and careſſed; their Nephews, Cardinal Patrons, and Favourites bribed, and preſented: For the Popes are never without their Creatures, and *Privado's*, a *Cæſar Borgia*, a *Donna Olympia*, or ſome ſuch like, who muſt be effectually dealt withall, and by them way made to the Pope's ear, and favour; beſides Penſions,

Il Nipotiſmo di Roma.

Penſions, and Gratuities to ſervants, and Officers, through whoſe hands buſineſs ran, for expedition, Intelligence, &c.

One memorable Record teſtifying all this, with the King's care to tranſmit moneys to his Ambaſſadors, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, it will not be amiſs here to exhibit, *Rex omnibus Mercatoribus ad quos, &c. Sciatis quod quicunque mutuo tradiderit Hen. Abbati Belli loci, & Thomæ de Ardinton, & Amfredo de Dene, nunciis noſtris, quos miſimus ad curiam Romanam pro negotiis noſtris, quingentas marcas: nos ei vel nuncio ſuo has literas noſtras referenti una cum literis prædictorum nunciorum ſummam illius mutui, eas plene perſolvemus: Et ad hoc nos obligamus per noſtras hac literas patentes. Teſte Dom. P. Winton.* Epiſcopo *apud Rokingham* 20 *die Febr. anno regni noſtri* 8. *Et injunctum eſt Thomæ de Ardinton, & Amfredo de Dene, qui habent in hac forma quatuor paria chartarum, ſingulas de D. Marcis, ita quod per totum ſunt* M M *marc. quod nihil inde expendant ſicut diligant corpora ſua, ante conſummationem negocii pro quo remittuntur ad Curiam: Et debent reddere Juſtic. cartam de* M *marcis de priore itinere ſuo, in quo tulerunt chartas de* MMM *marcis, & non expenderunt per totum niſi* M M *marcas, vacatis inde* 30 *Marc. de uno anno de foedo P. fil. Ric. fratri Dom. Papæ: & O. Hanibal* 60 *Marc. & ad dict. termin. caſſand. de* 50 *Marc. Et nepoti Dom.* Par. 8 & 9 Joh. Reg. n. 5. m. 3.

Port. 20 *Marc. Et Præceptum eſt Juſtic: quod cartam illam afferat Regi. Et præceptum eſt Thomæ de Ardinton quod cartam nepotis Dom. Port, quæ liberetur antequam nomen inſerebatur, afferat, quoniam nomen neſciebatur cum carta ſcripta fuit.* A notable Record this, implying the King's care, and caution in that affair.

So King *Edward* the Firſt, ſending *Franciſcus Accurſius*, and other Meſſengers to *Rome* about his Affairs there, iſſued ſeveral Inſtruments for furniſhing them with money; and payment of the annual Penſion to his Advocate in *Rome*; and to a Cardinal at *Rome*, granted to them, till they could be preferred by him to Benefices, or Offices, of greater value; all preſerv'd to this day, too long to be here tranſcrib'd, and of which let this one ſatisfie, as a ſpecimen of the reſt,

Pat. 6 Ed. 1. m. 6. De Denariis Fran. Accurſio, & ſociis nunciis Regis ad cur. Romanam.

Rex Orlandino de Podio, & ſociis ſuis mercatoribus de Luk ſalutem. Mandamus vobis, quod de denariis noſtris vel veſtris in cuſtodia veſtra exiſtentibus habere faciatis dilecto Clerico noſtro Domino Franciſco Accurſio, & ſociis ſuis nunciis noſtris ad curiam Romanam proficiſcentibus, rationabiles expenſas ſuas quibus indigent in eundo, ibidem morando, & redeundo, ad expeditionem negotiorum prædictorum. Et cum ſciverimus quantum eis liberaveritis, nos debitam allocationem ſeu quietanciam vobis inde habere faciemus. Teſte Rege apud Shotwik xvij die Sept.

Many

Many other tranſcripts, and Inſtruments of like nature might here be produced, as likewiſe promiſes, and aſſurances of gratuities, and annual penſions to Cardinals, and others, to ingage them to promote the King's buſineſſes in the Court of *Rome*. And in one year only King *Edw.* 1. ſent Letters, and Addreſſes, with competent ſumms, and arrears of Penſions to no fewer than ſeventeen Cardinals, and Officers in the Court of *Rome*, to ingage them to attend, and promote his affairs there.

Chart. 1 John nu. 12. Clauſ. 10 Hen. 3. m. 1. dorſ. Pat. 52 Hen. 3. nu. 15. Pro R. S. Angeli Diacon. Cardinal. Clauſ. 9 Ed. 1.

By theſe Ambaſſadors, and Agents the Kings gratuities, and bounty, was handed to the Popes, upon ſeveral occaſions: as King *Henry* the Eighth, in the year 1526. ſent to Pope *Clement* the ſeventh being in ſome diſtreſs, Thirty Thouſand Ducats for a Preſent. At another time, in the ſame King's raign, the Pope being under reſtraint, and want, by the Emperours means, the Cardinal of *York* carryed at one time out of the Kingdom 240000 l. of the King's Treaſure, to work his delivery.

Lo. Herb. Hiſt. fo. 211.

Holinſhead in H. 8.

Speed in H. 8.

The laſt publick Ambaſſador ſent hence, and reſiding at *Rome*, was Sir *Edward Carne*, Doctor of the Civil Law, Knighted by the Emp. *Charles* the Fifth: who lay Leiger there ſeveral years, and there dyed about the beginning of the raign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and ever ſince that way of negotiation, and expence, to the great eaſe of the Exchequer, hath ceaſed.

CHAP. XVI.

Strangers Beneficed.

ANother way of draining infinite ſumms out of this Kingdom, to *Rome*, and *Italy*, was the conferring of Biſhopricks, and all ſorts of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, Offices, and Promotions, upon Strangers, and chiefly Italians.

Theſe conſtantly reſiding at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, had their Farmers, Factors, and Agents here, to Collect their Rents, and Revenues, and tranſmit the ſame to *Rome*, to be received, and ſpent there.

Matt. Paris in An. 1253. In the year 1253. an Inquiſition was taken of this, whereby it appeared, that the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues in *England*, of the Italians (whereof many were Boys, more Dunces, but all Aliens) did amount to no leſs than Threeſcore and ten thouſand Marks *per annum*: eſteemed a greater revenue, at that time, than that of the King: which occaſioned the ſharp Letter of *Rob. Groſthead* to the Pope, about that grievance, with the Pope's diſdainful reception of the ſame, at large related by *Mat. Paris*, and of which more hereafter.

At

At a Parliament held *An.* 1379. a great complaint was made of forrainers holding Eccleſiaſtical Benefices: many Cardinals at *Rome* having the beſt Promotions, and Livings conferred on them, or granted to hold in *Commendam*, of which there are Catalogues yet extant. And of this many miſchiefs did inſue; As little or no Divine Service, or Inſtruction of the People: No Hoſpitality kept, for relief of the Poor: Decay of Houſes, and increaſe of Barbariſme; ſo that between the Italian Hoſpitality, which none could ever ſee, and a little Latin Service, which few, or none could underſtand; the poor Engliſh were ill fed, but worſe taught: And laſtly the exhauſting the wealth of the land, to the impoveriſhing of the People, and weakning of the King, and Kingdom, in caſe of invaſion, or any attempts againſt them. But how all this was then reſented, you ſhall hear more anon.

Rot. Parl. An. 3 Ric. 2.

Acts & Mon. Tom. 1. f. 389.

Memorable is it, that in the raigns of King *Hen.* 7. and King *Hen.* 8. the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter* had four Italians ſucceſſively, of which none ever lived there.

Johannes Gigles, or *de Liliis*, born at *Luca*.

Sylveſter Gigles, his Nephew, ſucceeded.

Godw. de Præſul. Angl. in Wigorn.

Julius Medices, a Cardinal of *Rome*, Nephew to Pope *Leo* the tenth, and afterwards

wards Pope himself by the name of *Clement* the seventh.

Hieronymus de Nugutiis, upon the resignation of *Jul. Medices*, injoyed it many years.

And such prevalence had the Popes, and Cardinals in this matter, that once King *Edw.* 1. having promised the Cardinal-Bishop of *Sabine*, at his instance, to present one *Nivianus*, an Italian, his Chamberlain, to a Benefice in *Licolnshire*, then in his gift by the death of another Italian the Popes Chaplain, and forgetting his promise, presented his own Clark thereunto; but being reminded thereof, to make good his promse, he revoked his first Presentation, and Presented *Nivianus* to it, as appears by his Patent for that purpose, still preserved amongst our Records.

Pat. 25 E. 1. m. 16. De præsentatione pro M. Antonio de Niviano

At such time as *Rubeus*, and *Ruffinus*, two of the Pope's Factors, were very busie here in *England* in Collecting money for the Pope, one *Mumelinus* comes from *Rome*, with Four and twenty *Italians*, with orders that they should be admitted to so many of the best Benefices that should next fall void. And in the same year it was, that the Pope made agreement with the People of *Rome*, that if they would effectually aid him against *Frederick* the Emperour, their Children should be put into all the vacant Benefices in *England*: And thereupon order was sent to *Edmund* Arch-

Mar. Paris in An. 1240. fo. 540

Matt. Paris in eodem anno.

Arch-biſhop of *Cant.* the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, and *Salisbury*, that Proviſion ſhould be made for Three hundred Romans Children, to be ſerved of the next Benefices that ſhould fall; *unde ſtupor magnus corda hæc audientium occupavit; timebaturque quod in abyſſum deſperationis, talia audiens mergeretur*, as the Hiſtorian hath it: But this made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Archbiſhop, being a tender man, to ſee the Church in that manner wounded, and ſo much evil in his days, that he diſpoſed of his affairs, and retired into *France*, where for a little while he lived, bewailing the deplorable ſtate of his Country, and of grief dyed at *Pontiniac*.

Godw. in vita ejus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Priories-Alien.

PRiories-Alien were another cauſe, or means of carrying great ſumms, for a long time, out of the Kingdom. And theſe were of this Original, *viz.* according to the devotion of the times, many forraign Monaſteries and Religious Houſes were endowed with poſſeſſions here in *England*: and then the Monks beyond Sea, partly to propagate more of their own Rule, and Order, and partly to place Stewards, as it were, to tranſmit a good proportion of the Rents, and profits of theſe their new acquir'd poſſeſſions, at ſo great a diſtance, would either by themſelves, or the aſſiſtance of others, build a Cell, or competent and convenient reception, for ſome ſmall Covent, to which they ſent over, from time to time, ſuch numbers as they thought fit, and conſtituted Priors over them ſucceſſively, as occaſion required: and thereupon they were called *Priories-Aliens*, becauſe they were Cells to ſome Monaſteries beyond the Seas. And theſe Foundations became frequent after the Conqueſt; So as in the raign of King *Edward* the third, they were increaſed to the number of one hundred and ten in *England*.

With ſome proportion, or allowance out of

of the revenues of these, the *Prior* and *Monks* sent over were maintained, and the residue transmitted to the Houses to which they were allyed: to the great damage of the Kingdom, and inriching of strangers.

In time, the Foundations of these *Priories-Alien* became very numerous, being spread all over the Kingdom. One *John Norbury* erected two, the one at *Greenwich*, the other at *Lewsham* in *Kent*; both belonging to the *Abby* of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*. Lamb. Peram. of Kent. Weav. Fun. Mon.

At *Wolston*, in *Warwick-shire*, a Cell, or Religious House, was founded, subordinate to the *Abby* of St. *Peter Super Dinam* in *France*. Another at *Monks-Kirby*, in the same County, founded by *Geffry Wirce* of *Little Brittain* in *France*, appropriated to the Monastery of *Angiers* the principal City of *Anjou*. And another at *Wotton Wawen*, in the same County, a Cell of *Benedictin* Monks, belonging to *Conchis* in *Normandy*: of all which Mr. *Dugdale* hath several remarks of Antiquity. W. Dugd. Warw. in Wolston. Id. fo. 50. Id. fo. 604.

At *Hinckley*, in *Leicester-shire*, a *Priory* of Canons *Aliens* was founded by *Robert Blanchmains* Earl of *Leicester*, or as some say by *Hugh Grandmeisnell* Baron of *Hinckley*, belonging to the *Abby* of *Lira* in *Normandy*: and this of a very good value. Burton Descrip. of Leic. fo. 134.

Roger de Poictiers founded a cell for *Monks-Aliens* at *Lancaster*. Cambd. Brit. in Lancast.

Edward the Confessor, by his Testament assign'd the religious place at *Deochirst* in Id. in Glocest. fo. 362.

the

the County of *Glouceſter*, and the Government thereof, to the Monaſtery of St. *Denis* near *Paris* in *France*: in this remarkable, that it will be hard to given another inſtance of ſuch an aſſignation before the *Norman* Conqueſt.

Stow Survey in Broadſt. Ward. Lindwood Conſtit. l. b. 3. Tit. 20.

King *Henry* the third once gave licence to the *Jews*, at their great charge, to build a *Synagogue* in *London*; which when they had finiſhed, he order'd ſhould be dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and then made it a Cell to St. *Anthony*'s in *Vienna*.

Stow Survey in Weſtm. fo. 495.

And near unto Charing-Croſs there was another, annexed to the Lady of *Runciavall* in *Navarre*, in the *Dioceſs* of *Pampelone*, founded in the fifteenth year of King *Edward* 4.

Cambd. in Midd. fo. 420.

At *Sion*, in *Middleſex*, there was antiently a Monaſtery for *Monks-Aliens*: Mr. *Cambden* tells us when they were expuls'd, and how it was converted into a *Nunnery* for Virgins, to the honour of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, and St. *Briget* of *Syon*.

Lindwood l. 3. Tit. 20.

But *Lindwood* tells us, that the Superior Houſe, to which at firſt it belonged, not mentioned by Mr. *Cambden*, was at *Waſtena*, in the Kingdom of *Sweden*, of the *Rule* of St. *Auſtin*.

Harpsfield Catalog. Æ l. Rel. fo. 762.

But the richeſt of all for annual revenue, was that which *Yvo Talbois* built at *Spalding* in *Lincoln-ſhire*, giving it to the Monks of *Angiers* in *France*: the yearly revenue whereof was valued at 878 *l.* 18 *s.* 3 *d.* *per annum*.

Inſtances

Inſtances might be made of a multitude more of the like Foundations, all tending to carry money out of the Kingdom, and moſt commonly to the King's Enemies beyond the Seas. Which miſchief being apprehended, and great complaints thereof frequently made in Parliament, theſe *Priories-Alien* became oftentimes ſeiſed into the King's hands, and the revenues thereof ſequeſtred to the King's uſe: and then reſtitutions made, and ſeiſures again, as occaſion required; untill the fourth year of King *Henry* the fourth, when a new conſideration was had in Parliament about theſe *Priories-Alien*, and reſolved that all ſhould again be ſeiſed into the King's hands, excepting thoſe that were Conventual: and thereupon Summons was given to all the ſaid *Priors* to appear on the *Octaves* of St. *Hillary* at *Weſtminſter*; and to bring with them all their Charters and Evidences, whereby the King and his Council might be ſatisfied, whether they had been *Priories* Conventual time out of mind, or not. But notwithſtanding this Act, and that the former ſeiſures had been made upon this ground, that by tranſportation of the revenues belonging to theſe Engliſh Cells, to thoſe Houſes in *France*, whereunto many of them belonged, and were ſubordinate, the King's Enemies, at ſuch times as he had warrs with the *French*, were aſſiſted: in the Parl. held at *Leic.* *An.* 2 *Henry* the fifth, it being conſidered, that though a final peace might afterwards be made between *England*

Rot. Parl. 50 E. 3. nu. 128.

Claus. 4 Hen. 4. nu. 30.

England and *France*, yet the carrying over such great summs of money yearly to those forraign Monasteries, would be much prejudicial to this Kingdom, and the People thereof: there was an Act then made, that all the possessions in *England*, belonging to the said *Priories-Alien*, should thenceforth remain to the King, his Heirs, and Successors for ever, excepting such whereof special declaration was then made to the Contrary, *Al intent* (sayes the Act) *que divine Services en les lieux avantdictz purront pluis duement estre fait per genti Anglois en temps avenir, que n'ount este fait devant ceſt heurs en icelles per gents Francois*, &c. intimating the mis-imployment of the same. And so from thenceforth our Kings disposed of these *Priories-Alien*, and all their revenues arising hence, in such manner as they thought most conducible to the good, and ease of themselves, and the People: Which Act of State proved a *Præludium* to the dissolution which befel the intire English Monasteries, in the raign of King *Henry* the eighth.

Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. 5. nu. 9.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Knights Templars, and Hospitallers.

THE Orders of the Knights Templars, and Hospitallers were also possessed of large revenues, and lands here: a great part of the profits whereof was transported away, and spent out of the Kingdom.

For the Original, Rule, and nature of these Orders, several have collected, and exhibited them, particularly Mr. *Dugdale*, to whom those that would be satisfied therein are referred. For our purpose, let it be sufficient to note, That in the year 1307. by the King's special command, and a Bull from the Pope, the Templars were generally throughout the Kingdom laid hold on, and cast into prison, and all their possessions seised into the King's hands. The crimes objected against them were very hainous, contain'd in divers Articles, but whether true, or false we will not now examine. And it was not long after that the whole Order was condemned, and suppress'd in a General Council at *Vienna*, under Pope *Clement* the fifth, and their possessions given to the Knights *Hospitallers*: who injoyed the same here till the 32. year of King *Hen.* 8. when an Act of Parliament was made, reciting, That divers of the King's subjects called Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*,

W. Dugd. Hist. of Warw. fo. 704 An. 1 Ed. 2.

Hen. de Knighton coll. 2531

Th. Walsingh. Hist. fo. 73. An. D. 1311.

Stat. 32 H. 8. cap. 24.

abiding beyond the *Sea*, receiving yearly out of this Realm great ſumms of money, have unnaturally, and contrary to the duty of their allegiances, ſubſtained and maintained the uſurped power, and authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, lately uſed, and practiſed within this Realm, he the ſaid Biſhop being common Enemy to the King our Soveraign Lord, and this his Realm: and conſidering, that it were better that the poſſeſſions in this Realm belonging to ſuch as adhered to the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſhould be imploy'd, and ſpent within this Realm, for the defence of the ſame, than converted to and amongſt ſuch unnatural ſubjects, &c. It was enacted, That the ſaid *Corporation* of Knights *Hoſpitallers*, within his Majeſties Dominions, ſhould be utterly diſſolved, and that the King, his Heirs, *&c.* ſhould have all their Manors, Lands, *&c.* And ſo the Kingdom was freed of that miſchief, which their tranſporting ſo much money yearly out of it had occaſioned.

Queen *Mary* (a Princeſs more zealous, than wiſe, or politick) made ſome attempt to reſtore the Convents diſſolved by her Father, and Brother: particularly re-inſtating the *Benedictines* at *Weſtminſter*: The *Carthuſians* at *Shene*: The *Brigetteans* at *Sion*: The *Dominicans* at *Smithfield* in *London*: A ſort of *Franciſcans*, heretofore zealous for the legality of her Mother's marriage, at *Greenwich*: And the *Hoſpitallers* of St. *John's* of *Jeruſalem* in *Clarkenwell*: But her

San. de Schiſm. lib. 2. fo. 30.

her example was not followed by any of the Nobility, or others, who had incorporated any of the *Abby* Lands into their estates; but the Queen restored only what remained in the Crown un-aliened from the same: But yet such a beginning of hers gave a shrewd alarme to all the rest, that they should be attaqued, in convenient time, with some Acts of resumption, which would compel them to refund; and that the rather, because Cardinal *Pool*, in that Act in this Queen's raign, to secure the *Abby* Lands to the then Owners (without a formal passing whereof to quiet at present so many persons concerned, Popery would not so easily have bin restored at that time) would not absolve their consciences from restitution; but only made, as it were, a temporary palliate cure, the Church of *Rome* but suspending that power, which in due time was to be put in execution. But, for our Hospitallers, as I said before, they were, with some others, restored, and placed in their shatter'd mansion in *Clarkenwell*, Sir *Thomas Tresham* being made the *Prior* of the Order. But the short raign of that Queen prevented further restitutions: And Queen *Elizabeth* coming to the Crown, permitted all things to remain for some time, as she found them; so that at her first Parliament she sent writs to the *Lo. Prior Tresham*, and *Abbot Feckham*, to appear as Barons therein; but they were scarce warm in their Seats, but they, with all the rest of the late restored Orders,

Stow. Survey fo. 483.

were once again dissolved; and the King dom's fears of refunding, and resumption, for that time cured, with addition of hope never to be so frighted again.

As Allies, and Successors to these Knights Templars, and Hospitallers, it will not be amiss something to note of the Knights of *Malta*. How they were first expulsed out of the Holy Land, and then out of *Rhodes*, by the Turks; how afterwards they seated at *Nice*, and *Syracuse* successively, and at last setled in the *Island Malta*, where now they are, we referr those that would be satisfied therein to the Historians, and Travellers that have taken notice of them. But we are informed by our late Travellers, That now in the City of *Valetta*, in *Malta*, they have *Alberges*, *Halls*, or *Seminaries* of the eight several Nations of the Order, which are the *French*, *Italians*, *German*, *English*, *Provençal*, *Auvergnois*, *Castilian*, and *Arragonian*: These *Albergs* are buildings like Colledges; and the *Seignior* of each Nation is Superiour of the *Alberg*, *Grand Prior* of his Nation, of the *Gran Croce*, as they call it, and of the *Privy* Council of the Great Master. Amongst these there is an *Alberg*, or an apartment for the English Nation, or rather a piece of ground inclosed, with the foundation of an *Alberg*, the Walls being not quite reared up. This standing now void, for want of English to stock it, some of the Citizens would have bought the ground, to have built upon: but the Grand Master

Geo. Sandies Trav. lib. 4. fo. 229. Travels of Jo. Ray. fo 303.

Master and Council would not sell it, expecting that one day the English Nation would be reduced again to the Obedience of the *Roman* Church, and then it would be finished, and repleniſh'd with such for whom it was first designed. In the time of Mr. *Sand*'s being there, an *Iriſh-man*, living in *Naples*, and receiving a large Pension from the King of *Spain*, bore the Title of *Grand Prior* for the English; but who hath since succeeded in that Office, I have not thought it very necessary to inquire. And in like manner, as we are informed, the other dissolved Orders, especially those as were of greatest note, and most richly endowed, still keep up, and continue their Successions, as well as they can, with Rentals, and Particulars of the possessions of their respective Houses, in hopes they will revert once again to their former use.

CHAP. XIX.

Elections of Popes, and Cardinals.

THE Election, and making of Popes, and Cardinals was another way of carrying great ſumms frequently out of *England* to *Rome*: And that upon this account.

The Pope being both a ſpiritual Monarch, and a Temporal Prince, it could not otherwiſe be, but by that ſway which he bore in the Conſciences of ſuch as owned his authority, he came to have a great influence over all the State affairs of Chriſtendome, beſides his challenging a power to depoſe Kings, abſolve Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, diſpence with Vows, and Oaths, and diſpoſe of Kingdoms, and States as he pleaſed: and then the Kings, and States of *Europe* acting according to their reſpective rules of State, and Policy, there continually happen'd a reciprocation, and recurrence of Treaties, Leagues, Alliances, Quarrels, and Warrs amongſt them: And the Popedome being Elective, all thoſe Princes, and States (amongſt whom our Kings had their proper concerns) made it their intereſt, and utmoſt endeavour, in a vacan-

vacancy, to procure the promotion of such a one to that *See*, as might be favourable, or at least not noxious, to their interests, and designs. And hence all the subtile contrivances, the secret Cabals, sometimes the twisting, and at other times the unravelling of interests, and factions, the canvassing of parties, the buying of votes, the purchasing of intelligence, the bribing of Officers, and any thing, or every thing that money would do, must be set on foot, and carryed on with utmost vigour, cost, and pains. At such a time, and occasion *Rome* becomes throng'd with Ambassadors, and Agents, with their Guards, and Retinue, from all quarters, and all at a vast expence, watching, labouring, and sweating, every one for his Master's business: whilst the roads are pester'd with Messengers, Curriers, and Posts, carrying, and re-carrying of News, intelligence, and instructions.

Then, by reason of all this packing, and canvassing, it often happens that the Conclave cannot agree in many moneths, though generally those Princes who had bin most liberal, have had their turns serv'd; and many times again, by reason of the fierce opposition, and difficulties, the Cardinals, not to disgust the contending factions, are fain to pitch upon some heavy, old, overgrown man, who is likely to do neither hurt, nor good, or at least not long, and

sometimes again the Conclave becomes so divided, and rent, that one part of them chooses a Pope, and another part an Anti-Pope, and when these (with their partisans) have for some time scuffl'd, tug'd, and fought for't, in comes a third dog, and catches the hare from them both: and sometimes three Popes have been up, and in play at one time. In this hurly-burly St. *Peter*'s chair is overturn'd, and broke in pieces; one Pope snatches up part of it, and runs into *Germany*; another scrambles for another part, and runs with it into *France*; whilst another pieces up the remaining shivers, and seats himself at *Rome*. Presently the world is fill'd with complaints, Remonstrances, and Manifesto's: The Emperour storms, and sayes his man had foul play, and that his Imperial Eagle shall fly his utmost pitch to do him right: The surly *Spaniard* grumbles, and protests he will hazard all his Indies, before his Creature shall be so baffled: And the *French* King swears that all his *Flowers de Lis* shall wither, before his Confident shall be rooted out: neither are our Kings of *England* only lookers on whilst this game is in playing, but either their Arms, or their money, must be layd to stake on one side.

In this Battle-Royal, after many incounters, and ran-counters, the weakest, though

though not alwayes the worſt, moſt commonly goes to the Walls: one of them perhaps ſent out of the world with a Fig, or a Potion: another entrapp'd, and thrown into a Dungeon: whilſt the third, for a few moneths, or it may be years, ſtruts up and down, claps his wings, and crows as victor; and then goes himſelf to the Pot, and leaves the Pit for other Combatants, and the ſpectators to their expectation of more ſport.

Of this ſort *Bellarmine* reckons up ſix and twenty ſchiſms in the *Roman* Church, but *Onuphrius*, a more exact accountant, reckons up thirty; whereof ſome laſted ten, ſome twenty, and one fifty years. The Contemplation whereof hath cauſed ſome to make a very ſhrewd objection, againſt the perfect unity, compleat ſucceſſion, and Divine Infallibility, ſo much boaſted of in that Church.

Onuphr in vita Clem. 7.

I might, and could eaſily here make particular inſtance of all theſe famous bickerings, ſcuffles, and counter-ſcuffles: but the ſame being obvious to all that converſe with books, and ſomething having bin lately worthily done to that purpoſe, and it being a Paregon to the drift of theſe papers, we will no further ingage in theſe quarrels, than to note, that they were cauſe, for the reaſons aforeſaid, of great expence to our Engliſh Kings, when they thought it their intereſt to have a friend ſeated in the Pontifical

Dr. Stillingfleet of the diviſions of the Rom. Church.

fical chair: and the reason of that Policy now ceasing, we being altogether unconcern'd in that affair, the money that used to leak that way, is kept within the Kingdom, to the great ease, quiet, and benefit both of King, and People.

I will only here take liberty to mention one famous schisme, the procedure, and conclusion thereof justifying all that we have before pointed at in this matter. About the year 1404. *Innocent* the seventh being Pope; by the prevalence of a Faction, one *Petrus de Luna* was set up at *Avignion*, as Antipope against him: between these was great strugling, and holding, till the death of *Innocent*; but the Faction dyed not with him, for the Cardinals chose *Gregory* the twelfth, between whom, and *Peter de Luna*, who called himself *Benedict* the thirteenth, the schism continued with great fury, whereby such mischief, and disturbance grew in the world, that to appease the matter there was no other remedy, but to depose them both; which was done in a Council at *Pisa*; and a third man, *Alexander* the fifth, chosen in their rooms; the two disbanded Popes sneaking away to their Friends: But this *Alexander* soon dying, as not injoying his dignity above eight moneths, *Balthasar Cossa* was chosen in his stead, who took the name of *John* the twenty-fourth, and then the two discarded Popes peep out, and begin to stir again, with many abetters on all sides. To com-

P'atina in vitis Innoc. 7 Greg. 12. Alex. 5. Jo 24

Pet r Moor.

A Neapolitan.

compose all which, (there being now three Popes on foot, at once:) a Council was call'd at *Constance*, where all these three were deposed: in which transaction the King of *England* had a great stroke, as *Platina* expressly sayes: but long it was, and with much ado, before all would submit to *Martin* the fifth, who was then chosen; *Gregory* the twelfth dyed soon of grief upon it: *Peter de Luna* betakes himself to a strong Castle, and stands upon his guard, and justification, having many friends, and particularly the *Scots*, as is specially remembred; but all would not do, his party was run down, and he from that time vanished: The third, that is *John* 24. took his heels, and ran for't, in a disguise, but being discovered, and apprehended by the Count *Palatin*, he was kept several years a Prisoner, *Platina* sayes in the Castle of *Heidelberg*, but *Camerarius* hath it in the Castle of *Manshеim*, where, sayes he, they use to shew the Chamber, in which he was imprisoned, and where, at his Exit, he left these verses, of his own making, bewailing the lubricity of fortune, the vanity of the world, and his own Captivity.

In vita Johan. 24.

Camerar. Hist. meditat. l. 4. cap 7.

Qui modo summus eram, gaudens & nomine, Præsul,
Tristis & abjectus nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelsus Solio nuper versabar in alto,
Cunctaque gens pedibus oscula prona dabat.
Nunc

Nunc ego pœnarum fundo devolvor in imo;
Vultum deformem quemque videre piget.
Omnibus è terris aurum mihi sponte ferebant,
Sed nec gaza juvat; nec quis amicus adest.
Sic varians fortuna vices, adversa secundis
Subdit, & ambiguo nomine ludit atrox.

Papa fecit.

I, who of late injoy'd the highest place,
Now, all forlorn, bewail my wretched case.
I lately wore the glorious Triple Crown,
All kiss'd my feet with humbly-falling down:
But now I'me thrown into a pit of woe,
And my abhorred face dare hardly show.
From all parts treasure flowed in to me,
But now, or Gold, or Friend I cannot see.
Thus Fortune's rolling wheel pursues its scope,
Sometimes she smiles, and then deludes our hope.

By the Pope.

But upon his exauctoration, or reducement, one made this Distich,

Balthasar

Balthaſar imprimis vocitabar, & inde Johannes,
Depoſitus, rurſus Balthaſar ipſe vocor.

Firſt *Balthaſar*, and then Pope *John* I was,
But now depos'd, for *Balthaſar* muſt paſs.

Neither was all this labouring, tugging, and canvaſſing, for that ſupream dignity of the Popedom only, but proportionably as great endeavours, and expences were had for the obtaining of the intermediate promotions of Priorys, Abbacys, Biſhopricks, and Cardinalſhips, all being as mediate ſteps, whereby to mount at laſt the Pontifical Throne. And this matter of promotion, and preferment, continually carryed great ſumms to *Rome*, from private and particular perſons, who aimed to climb as high as money would carry them; and without that, the greateſt merit, or endeavours were but to little purpoſe. Ambition is rooted in the nature of all men, and ſcarce ever any took Orders, but he deſign'd to arrive at the higheſt dignity his Order was capable off: hence all that holding, thruſting, and ſtriving, for all thoſe improveable, and growing preferments here, from the Prieſt, to the Biſhop: and all that appealing, and running to *Rome*, for Confirmation: and after that, all the ſollicitations, bribing, and driving of intereſts for a Cardinalſhip: and never any reſt, till they arrive at St. *Peter*'s Chair, or the Grave.

In

Sp-ed Chron. in Hen. 5. In the raign of King *Henry* the Fifth, what a vaſt ſumm of money was amaſſed by *H. Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, of which at one time he lent the King 20000 l. and took his Crown to pawn for it; with part of this he obtain'd a Cardinalſhip, but lived not to finiſh, with the reſt, his deſign'd purchaſe of the Papacy.

Lo. Herb. Hiſt. Hen. 8. In the raign of King *Henry* the Eight, the great, and rich *Woolſey* was never quiet, but alwayes careſſing, and preſenting with great ſumms, ſometimes the Emperour, ſometimes the K. of *France*, and at all times ſome leading Cardinals, for their intereſt, and favour for his Election to the Popedom; and thereupon, after the death of Pope *Leo* the tenth, he renews his ſollicitations to the Emperour, and French King, and ſends Doctor *Pace*, his Agent, with good ſumms to the Cardinals at *Rome:* but *Adrian* the ſixth was choſen before the heavy ſollicitor came to the end of his journey. But then again, after the death of this *Adrian*, *Woolſey* puts hard for it again, with all that wooing, intreaty, and money could do; but ſuch an ill Planet reign'd over his projects, that he was gull'd of his money, and baffled once again, *Julio de Medici*, by the name of *Clement* the ſeventh, carrying it clear from him: but, a little to comfort our repulſed Cardinal, upon his earneſt requeſt, this Pope *Clement* condeſcended that the Legantine power, which *Adrian* before had granted only for five years, and ſo from five years, to five years, ſhould now be con-

conferr'd on *Woolsey* for term of life; whereby he might injoy a kind of Papal authority in *England*, which he misſed at *Rome*: but this Cordial proved too ſtrong for him to digeſt, and utterly ruin'd his conſtitution, as by the ſeries of his ſtory doth appear.

And now theſe mighty endeavours, and expenſes for thoſe promotions in the Court, and Church of *Rome*, to Cardinalſhips, and the Papacy, makes me conceive it not altogether impertinent here, to make a little enquiry, what Countrymen of ours attained thoſe dignities, and whether the pains and coſt expended was anſwered by the preferment.

I confeſs not many of our Countrymen have reached thoſe high dignities of Pope, and Cardinal; though always ſome or other of them, have been gaping, and aſpiring that way; the Pontifical Chair, and the ſteps to it, having been moſtly poſſeſt by Italians, intimated by that noted Obſervation in *Italy* it ſelf, That of the Romans, the Prieſts are the moſt wicked: And of the Prieſts, the lewdeſt are made Cardinals: and of the Cardinals, the worſt are choſen Popes: But the moſt famous that ſprung up there of the Engliſh growth, of both ſorts, take as follows.

Sr. Edw. Sands Europ. ſpecul. p. 91.

Pope *Joan* ſhall lead the dance, of whom much might be ſaid; but let it ſuffice here to be known: That all writers agree her to be Engliſh by Parentage, though ſome ſay ſhe was born at *Mentz* in *Germany*, others that ſhe

Pope Joan. Platina in vita Johan. 8. Jo. Bale in vita ejus. Et Godw. Alex. Cook of Pope Joan.

she was born in *England*. When she came to ripe age, she ran away, in man's apparel with a Monk of *Fulda*, and studied in many famous Academies, both of the Greeks, and Latins, especially *Athens*, where her Paramour dyed, and then she came to *Rome*, where in Disputations, and Scholastick exercises, she got such a fame, that after the death of *Leo* the fourth she was elected Pope: which office she exercised two years, five months, and three days, celebrating Mass, giving Orders, and acting, in all things, her part, as a compleat Pope, only wanting the Masculine Gender. But so it proved, that in the time of her Papacy she was gotten with Child, and going to the *Lateran*, between *Colosses*, and St. *Clements*, she fell in labour, but wanting a Mid-wife, and other accommodations requisite in that case, she there dyed: and for the scandal thereof, her successors, in all their Processional pomps, have ever since avoided that way: and to prevent the like to come, the Porphyry Chair was devised, thus described by *Sabellicus*, *Spectatur adhuc in Pontificia domo, marmorea sella, circa medium inanis, qua novus Pontifex residat, ut sedentis genitalia ab ultimo Diacono attrectentur*, A marble Chair, with a hole in the seat, wherein the new Pope sitting, the junior Deacon may handle his Genitals. This story of Pope *Joan* the modern Pontificians do not like, though related by all these Writers, and who were all Romanists.

An. Dom. 855.

Contulit sacros ordines, promovit Episcopos, ministravit sacramenta, cæteraque Rom. Pont. exercuit munera. Cor. Agrip. de Van. scient. cap. 62. de sect. monast. O Lucina fer opem

Sabellic. lib. 1. Ænead. 9.

Marianus

Marianus Scotus.
Sigebertus Gemblacencis.
Martinus Polonus.
Sabellicus Mantuanus.
Johan. Parisiensis.
Antoninus Nauclerus.
Fascic. Temp. Author.
Fulgosus.
Theodoric. à Nyem.
Ravisius Textor.
Laonicas Chalcondylas.
Fran. Petrarcha.
Johannes Boccacius.
Ranulph. Cestrensis.
Johan. Lunidus.
Alph. de Cartagena.
Jo. Tritemius. Palmerius.
Valatteranus.
Canstantin. Phrygio.
Christ. Masseus.
Anselm. Rid.
Supplem. Chron. Author.
Chronic. Chronicorum.
Gotefridus Viterbiensis.

And for them all *Platina*, the famous writer of the Pope s lives, who tells all the story at large, concluding thus, *Quæ ideo ponere breviter & nude institui, ne obstinate nimium & pertinaciter videar omisisse, quod fere omnes affirmant*; that is, He would not omit the relation, becaufe almoft all men then believ'd it to be true. Platina in vitâ Johan. 8.

Adrian 4. An. D. 1154.

Nicholas Breakspear, born at *Langley* near to St. *Alban's*, in the County of *Hartford*, acquir'd the Popedom, by the name of *Adrian* the fourth. This man ſuffered *Frederick* the Emperour to hold his ſtirrop as he alighted from his Horſe, and then checkt him for not ſhewing himſelf an expert Groom: and after excommunicates him, for ſtanding upon his right, and writing his name before the Popes: but not therewithal ſufficiently revenged, and with his Cardinals conſpiring to ruine the Emperour, ſending a Counterfeit to ſtab him, and an Arabian to poyſon him, he was choak'd with a Fly that got into his Throat; verifying what he uſed often to ſay, *That none can be more unfortunate than to be made Pope.*

Urban 5. An. D. 1362. Tho. Walſingh. Hiſt. fo. 172.

William Griſant, an Engliſhman, obtain'd the Papacy, by the name of *Urban* the fifth. Of this man *Thomas Walſingham* tells this ſtory, That he waiting long in the Court of *Rome* for preferment, and none coming, he complain'd to his friend, that he verily thought in his heart, if all the Churches in the world ſhould fall, yet none would fall upon his head: but when he was Crowned Pope, his friend remembred him of what he had ſaid, and told him he had now gotten on his Head all the Churches in the world. But the vertue of them all could not preſerve him from poyſon, of which he dyed at *Marſeils*, in his return (as is ſaid) into *Italy*.

Balæus in vita ejus.

Geffry

Geffry of *Monmouth*, the famous Hiſtorian, is affirmed by ſome to have been a Cardinal: But the very learned Biſhop *Godwin*, in the Lives of the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, of which this *Geffry* was one, much doubts it. I think it not worth the while now to examine the buſineſs, or ſeaſonable to animadvert upon the fabuloſity of his Hiſtory: only there comes to mind a ſtory that *Roger Hoveden* tells of him, how once he was ſlurr'd both of his Biſhoprick of St. *Aſaph*, and the Abbacy of *Abingdon*, when he cunningly deſigned to have held both. The ſtory is thus; In a Council then held, the Clergy of St. *Aſaph* beſeeched the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that out of the plenitude of his power, he would command *Geffry* their Biſhop to return to his Cure, and charge, or ſend them another in his ſtead, for that he had withdrawn himſelf from them; and being come into *England*, King *Henry* had given him the Abbacy of *Abingdon*, then void: whereupon the Archb. convented *Geffry* before the Council, and injoined him, either preſently to return to his charge, or to reſign it, and ſtand to favour: in hope whereof, he reſigns into the hands of the Archbiſhop, by delivering up his Ring, and Paſtoral ſtaff. But the conſequence was, that thereby he became ſtrip'd of both; for the King preſently gave the Biſhoprick to one *Adam* a Welchman, and the Abbacy to a certain Monk.

Geffry of Monmouth. Pontic. Virun. Ciacon. Magdeburgens.

Rog. Hoveden pars poſterior Hen. 2. fo. 544.

Boſo. An. D. 1155. Balæus.

Boſo, an Engliſhman, was made a Cardinal, of whom nothing is left memorable, but that by his vehement ſtickling, he prov'd mainly inſtrumental in the Election of *Alexander* the third to the Popedom, againſt the ſtrong factions of *Victor*, *Innocentius Paſchalis*, and *Calixtus*, who all ſtood for the place; and thereupon came to participate of the alternate fortunes of his Maſter, in his bickerings with the Emperour at that time.

Steph. Largton An. D. 1206. Matt. Paris. Antiquit Britt. in Steph. Langt. Godw. in vita.

Stephen Langton was created Cardinal of St. *Chryſogon*, and the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* falling void, by the death of *Hubert*, the Monks choſe *Reginald* the Sub-Prior, with great ſecrecy, and injoined him ſilence, till he could get his confirmation at *Rome*. But he being big of his Honour, could not forbear tattling, inſomuch as King *John* then raigning, dealt with the Monks to elect *John Gray*, Biſhop of *Norwich*: upon which, the two Elects appeal to *Rome*: but the Pope, to end the ſtrife, put *Stephen Langton*, his Cardinal, and Creature into the place: whoſe inſolence promoted, if not occaſion'd, all the miſchiefs that happen'd in that King's time, too large to be here ſpecified, but fully related by all Writers of that time.

Rog'r Curſon. An. D. 1211. Matt. Paris. Matt. Weſtm Balæus. Onuphrius.

Roger Curſon, about the year 1211. was created Cardinal. Of him I find little amiſs, ſpending the moſt of his time in the Holy War, untill at his return, he came the Pope's Legate into *England*, as an inſtrument to promote the intolerable exactions which the

Kingdom

Kingdom suffered in the time of King *Hen.* 3. but he presently vanished, the time, place, or manner of his death, being not now to be retrived.

Robert Somercot, created Cardinal under Pope *Gregory* the ninth, is character'd to have been a person of very great merit: and after the death of that Pope, stood fairest for the Election: but the Italian Cardinals resolving to have none but one of their own Country, our *Somercot* was poison'd in the very Conclave. Rob. Somercot. An. D. 1231. Ciaconius. Onuphr. M. Paris.

Robert Kilwardby sate six years Archbishop of *Cant.* and then for a Cardinalship relinquish'd his See; and going into *Italy* to take possession of his new dignity, within a few months he dyed, of poyson, at *Viterbium* there. Of this man there is a memorable story, implying the practice of the Popes in making the English money their property, and disposing the same at their pleasure; as also his ingenuity once in shifting himself neatly out of such an incumbrance: *William Chillenden* the Prior of *Canterbury* had spent 1300 marks about his Election, but the Pope setting him aside, a little to stop his grumbling, and make him some recompence, promised him that the next Archbishop should pay him 1300 marks, which sum when *Chillenden* came to demand of *Kilwardby* being the next comer in, the Archbishop dealt seriously, and plainly with him, and told him, that if he persisted to have the money, he R. Kilwardby. A. D. 1278. Godwin in vita ejus. Antiquit. Brit. in vita Kilw. fo. 189.

knew privately so much of his irregularity, that he could, and would out him of his *Priory*: at which *Chillenden* was so frighted, that he durst make no further demand, and so the Archbishop sav'd his money.

Hugo d'Evesh. An. D. 1287. *Hugo de Evesham*, a famous Physician was dignified with a Cardinalship by Pope *Martin* the fourth, after whose death, he for his worth, and learning being just at point of being chosen Pope, was poisoned, as *Somercot* had bin before him: to colour which, *Ciaconius* sayes he dyed of the Plague.

Bal. de Script. Brit.

Ciacon.

W. Macklesfield. An. D. 1303. *William Macklesfield*, was made Cardinal by Pope *Benedict* the eleventh, but he dyed four moneths before his Cap came; and therefore when it was brought, it was with great solemnity set upon his Tomb.

W. Winterb. An. D. 1305. *Walter Winterborn*, created Cardinal, to succeed *Macklesfield*, but injoy'd his honor a very few moneths.

Thom. Joyce. Fratres Prædicatores. *Thomas Joyce* presently succeeds *Winterborn*: these three last were all of the same Order: In the year 1311. this Cardinal returning from his negotiation with the Emperour, *in Sabaudia lethali morbo correptus, vitam terminavit*, as our Author hath it.

Godw. in vita Tho. Joyce.

Ser. or Wallen. An. D. 1361. *Senior* of *Wales*, dyed in *Italy*, the fates denying him the honour, in the juncture of time, *ante susceptum pileum*, as *Macklesfield* did before.

Cri-

Grimoaldus de Grisant, Kinſman of Pope *Urban* the fifth and by him created Cardinal, dyed at *Avignion*, but how not known. Gri. d'Griſant An. D. 1366.

Simon Langham, firſt Biſhop of *Ely*, and thence tranſlated to *Canterbury*, and at laſt created a Cardinal: on which account he went to *Avignion*, and there, as he ſate at dinner, was ſuddenly ſnatch'd away by a *Paralyſis*. Sim. Langham An. D. 1376. Antiq. Britt. & Godw. in vita.

Adam Eaſton, Cardinal, ſiding with ſome other Cardinals in a great faction between two Anti-Popes: ſeven of his Comrades were ſewed up in bags, and thrown into the Sea; whilſt this *Adam*, degraded and tortured, was thrown into a moſt loathſome dungeon, where he lay ſtarving for five years together: but upon the turn of times was afterwards drawn out, and liv'd a few years. Adam Eaſton. An. D. 1385.

Phillip Repingdon, Canon, and *Abbot* of *Leic.* Chancellor of *Oxford*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and at laſt created Cardinal of St. *Nereus*, by Pope *Gregory* the twelfth, became upon his promotions ſo intolerably terrible, and cruel, that he dyed moſt hateful, and hated, being towards his latter end generally called *Philip Rampington*. Phil. Reping. An. D. 1408. Act. and Mon. fo. 409.

Henry Beaufort, the rich Cardinal, of whom ſomething before: Notwithſtanding all his wealth, dyed fruſtrate of the *Papacy*, and deſpairing of better injoyments in another world. H. Beaufort. An. D. 1426.

Chr. Bamb. Godw. in vita P. Jovius.

Christopher Bambridge, Archbishop of *York*, and then Cardinal, Sojourning, and intent on his office, at *Rome*, was there poisoned by *Rivaldus de Modena*, a Priest, and one of his domesticks.

Tho. Wolsey. An. D. 1520

Lo. Herb. Hist. Hen 8.

Thomas Woolsey, a *Butcher's* sonne of *Ipswich*, Archbishop of *York*, Chancellor of *England*, Cardinal, and *Legat à Latere*; whose high spirit not content with all the preferrement the world could afford, except the very highest, put him upon wooing, labouring, and bribing, at a vast expence, to obtain the *Papacy*, in which attempt he receiv'd two notable repulses, a Brewers Son, by name of *Adrian* the sixth being preferr'd before him. Thereupon he applies himself to Pope it so in *England* by vertue of his *Legatin* power, that he ranne himself into a *Premunire*, and the displeasure of a terrible,

Cook 4 Instit. fo. 89.

and resolute King; and many Articles were framed against him, of which this was one, That he was so audacious, as to rown the King in his Eare, and blow upon him, at such time as he had the foul, and contagious disease of the great Pox broken out in several places of his body: but as he was going towards *London*, under guard; to make Answer to his crimes, in sad apprehension thereof he dyed heart-broken with grief, or

Guicciard. Hist. of Italy. fo. 910.

poison, at the *Abby* of *Leicester*. *Guicciardin* hath this note of him, An example in our dayes worthy of memory, touching the power which Fortune, and envy have in

the

the Courts of Princes. And it was his insolence that made *Charls Brandon*, the Noble Duke of *Suffolk* once say, It was never merry in *England* since we had Cardinals amongst us.

John Fisher, Bishop of *Rochester*, having made himself obnoxious to the King's Laws, and displeasure, by opposing his Supremacy: the Pope, to secure his life, as conceiving the King would not touch one of such a Character, made him a Cardinal, but the policy fail'd, and it rather hastned his death, for by that time his Hat was come to *Calis*, his Head was struck off at *Tower-Hill*. John Fisher. An. D. 1535. Speed Chron. in Hen. 8. Herb. &c.

Reginald Pool, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Cardinal, being beyond the Seas about the beginning of the Reformation, wrote a Book for the Pope's Supremacy, against the King, and therein incited the Emperour preparing against the Turk, to bend his forces against his natural Soveraign, and native Countrymen, as being worse than Turks: This Book writ by a natural born subject of the King of *England*, was then adjudged a sufficient overt act, within the Stat. 25. *Edward* the third, *De proditionibus*, and therefore High Treason, and *Pool* attainted thereupon. But he keeping out of the reach of Justice, after the death of *P. Paul* the third, was just upon point of being elected Pope, but his own Regin. Pool. An. D. 1536. Sleidan. Com. Charls 5. Cook. Pl. Coron. fo 14. Brook Treason Tit. 24. Antiq. Brit. in vita Poli.

Act. & Mon. fo. 1794.

own ſtupidity, with the imputation of incontinency, ſtur'd him of the dignity. In the raign of Queen *Mary* over he comes, and what he did, both to the Living, and Dead, our Hiſtorians abundantly teſtifie; and that the next day after the Queen, dyed Cardinal *Pool*. *Et ſic exit Papiſmus in Anglia.*

Peter Petow. Cambd. Britt. in Warw.

Peter Petow, made Cardinal, and *Legat. a Latere*, by *P. Paul* the third, in time of Queen *Mary*, was coming over in purſuance of his Legatine power: But the wary Queen ſuſpecting he might act ſomething derogatory to her regality, forbad his entrance; which the Cardinal took ſo to heart, that he dyed preſently after.

Will. Allen.

Allen, the laſt Cardinal *Engliſhman*, in the raign of Queen *Elizabeth* appears a *Herald* before the Spaniſh Armado in 88. and by a Book diſperſed over *England*, ſtirs up the Nobles, and People to joyn with the *Spaniard* in execution of the Pope's ſentence of depoſition of the Queen: But all coming to nothing our Cardinal dyed an exile at *Rome*. Biſhop *Godwin* takes farewel of him with this character, He was laſt of our *England* Cardinals in time, and worſt in wickedneſs, deſerving not to be reckon'd amongſt *Engliſhmen*, as like another *Heroſtratus*, to get himſelf a name, endeavoring to fire the *Engliſh* Church (without envy be it ſpoke) the nobleſt in the world; ſo that his

Sp. fo. 1177. B. Carlton Remembr. 141.

An. D. 1594. Godw. in vita.

his memory deserves oblivion. *Et sic exit Cardinalismus.*

Several others are reckon'd in the Catalogues of *England* Cardinals: but because it is doubtful, whether some of them were English, and others whether ever Cardinals, and little memorable left of most of them; these already mentioned shall suffice to testifie, that the *Italian* promotions were generally more fatal, than fortunate to our Countrymen, and that the pains, and cost was not recompensed by the acquist. And so we pass from these highest dignities on Earth, to such coelestial Honour as was, and is to be purchased in the Church of *Rome*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Canonizations, &c.

CAnonization, and Sainting of Men, Women, and Boyes, was another way whereby great summs were often brought unto the Popes. And that was, when any person lived more austerely, or devoutly than ordinary, or being fam'd for any miracles pretended to have been done by him, in his life time, or by his Reliques, or at his Tomb, after his death: or that he dyed for, or in defence of the truth, or the Church's cause: Then if his Surviving friends, or relations made application to the Pope, upon payment of good summs, according to the abilities, and qualities of the persons solliciting, for sentences, fees, Orders, references, and others things requisite in such case, the party, by a kind of *Apotheosis*, was made a Saint, and a place assign'd him in the Calender. Of this extraction were the famous St. *Cuthbert*, St. *Guthlac*, St. *Dunstan*, St. *William*, St. *Swithun*, St. *Tibba*, St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, St. *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, St. *Winifred*, St. *Hugh*, and infinite more; who for money had their names put into the rolls of Glory, and their fames, and merit celebrated, and supplicated here on Earth.

I find that great endeavours were used to have

have *Robert Groſthead*, the renowned Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſainted; and particularly King *Edward* the firſt, laboured it by an expreſs unto the Pope for that purpoſe: but nothing could prevail, in regard he had ſo ſignalized himſelf againſt the corruptions of the Church, and times then; when as *Becket*, *Anſelme*, *Hugh* of *Lincoln*, and multitudes more, were Canonized for money, or ſomething they had done ſignally, and meritorious for the Papacy. Rot. Rom. An. 34 Ed. 1.

But this King had better ſucceſs in his ſollicitation to the Pope for the Cononization of *Thomas de Cantelupe* Biſhop of *Hereford* then deceaſed, famed for a multitude of miracles, as was ſuggeſted. *Thomas Walſingham* abounds in the celebration of him, and his miracles: but more modeſtly than the *Monk* of *Weſtminſter*, who aſcribes to him no leſs then 163 miracles: and others many more, too many in all conſcience to be believed, or here remembred in particular. But of ſuch eſteem it ſeems he was, that this King *Edward* the firſt, to obtain the benefit of his Prayers, and interceſſion in Heaven, for himſelf, and his Realm, according to the perſwaſion prevailing in thoſe ignorant times, ſent his Letter of requeſt to Pope *John* 22. to have him a Canonized Saint, to which the Pope, after ſome dealing withal for that purpoſe, was at laſt wrought: But for the King's Letter, being ſtill preſerv'd amongſt our Records, and which we conceive may be acceptable to ſome Tho. Walſing. in Ed. 1. fo. 11. Matt. Weſtm. in Ed. 1. Godw. in vita ejus.

to

to peruse; we will take the liberty to transcribe:

Clauſ. 33 Ed. 1. m. 3. dorſo. De tranſlatione S. Thomæ de Hereford.

Sanctiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Domino Divina Providentia Sacroſanctæ Romanæ ac univerſalis Eccleſiæ Summo Pontifici; Edwardus eadem gratia Rex Anglia, &c. devota pedum oſcula beatorum. Pium & juſtum eſſe cenſetur, ut ſicut glorioſus Deus in Sanctis ſuis & in Majeſtate mirabilis, Miniſtros fideles ſuos magnificat, altis decorat honoribus, & cœleſtis efficit beatitudinis poſſeſſores in cœlis: Sic & Sacroſanctæ Romana Eccleſia veſtigia ipſius proſequens, eos ad quorum memorias ipſe Deus ſuæ virtutis potentiam manifeſtat, ſigna ac prodigia faciens pro eiſdem, digno venerationis officio laudari, glorificari, & ſtudiis ſollicitis honorari efficiat in terris, ut per hoc fides catholica roboretur, & idem altiſſimus qui laudabilis eſt in ſæcula, glorificetur amplius & laudetur, ac ex hoc ſalutis noſtræ cauſam miſerecordius & miſeribilius operari dignetur. Cum itaque Thomas dictus de Cantilupo Eccleſiæ Herefordenſis Autiſtes, qui nobili exortus proſapia, dum carnis clauſus carcere tenebatur, pauper ſpiritu, mente mitis, juſtitiam ſitiens, miſericordiæ deditus, mundus corde, vere pacificus prout firmiter recolimus nos expertos, utpote cujus apud nos diu, & laudabilis converſatio & glorioſæ vitæ inſignia, ex multa familiaritate quam nobiſcum habuit eadem fuerunt evidentius nobis nota, quod Sanctitatem & ipſius converſationem laudabilem cerm-

cernebamas, quemadmodum degens in ſeculo magnis pollebat meritis; nunc veniens in cœlo, magnis corruſcare miraculis dignoſcatur, in tantum, quod ipſius meritis & interceſſionibus glorioſis, lumen cæcis, ſurdis auditus, verba mutis, & greſſus claudis, & alia pleraque beneficia ipſius patrocinium implorantibus cœleſti dextera conferuntur: de quorum miraculorum corruſcatione multiplici nonnullis de regno noſtro certitudinaliter innoteſcit. Nos attendentes per Dei gratiam fideles in Chriſto, noſque præcipue, & populum regni noſtri ejus poſſe ſuffragiis adjuvari, ut quem familiarem habuimus in terris mereamur habere Patronum in cœlis: Sanctitati veſtræ devotiſſime ſupplicamus, quatenus tantam lucernam abſconſam ſub modio remanere diutius non ſinentes, ſed eam mandantes ſuper Candelabrum collocari, biis qui ſunt in domo Domini ſolatium præbituram, dignemini ipſum aſcribere Sanctorum Catholog venerando, ut ejus precibus Dominus exoratus gratiam in præſenti, & gloriam nobis præbeat in futuro. Conſervet vos Altiſſimus ad regimen Eccleſiæ ſuæ per tempora fœliciter longiora. Dat. apud Weſtm. Secundo die Novemb. Anno regni noſtri 33. And upon this, as I ſaid before, he was Canonized for a Saint. The Letter it ſelf I have the rather exemplified at large, that you may ſee upon what ground the Popiſh Confidence is founded, and what by-wayes have been beaten, in queſt of Heaven.

King

Lo. Bacon Hiſt. Hen. 7. fo. 227.

King *Henry* the ſeventh had a deſire to have had King *Henry* the ſixth, his Predeceſſor Canonized for a Saint, thereby to acquire ſome cœleſtial Honour to his own Houſe, and *Line* of *Lancaſter*: and for that purpoſe he dealt with Pope *Julius*; who knowing that he had an able Chapman in hand, made his demands accordingly. Some indeed ſay, that that Pope (who was a little more than ordinary jealous of the dignity of the See of *Rome*, and of the Acts thereof) knowing that King *Henry* the ſixth, was reputed in the world but for a ſimple man, was afraid it would diminiſh the eſtimation of that kind of Honour, if there were not a diſtance kept between *Innocents*, and Saints. But the general opinion was that Pope *Julius* was too dear, which the wary King perceiving, having ſomewhat taſted of the charge, in expences upon witneſſes, References, Commiſſions, and Reports for the verification of his Holy Acts, and Miracles, (a thing uſual in the Court of *Rome*, when a good Client comes:) thought good to reſerve his money for ſome better bargaine, and withdrew his ſuit betimes, *Et ſic nihil inde venit.*

Lo. Bacon ſupr. Speed Chron. in Ed. 4. fo. 885.

The manner of Canonizations, with the Ordinary charges, too long to be here inſerted, but moſt worthy to be noted, you may find exhibited by Sir *H. Spelman*, in the ſecond Tome of his excellent collection of the Engliſh Councils.

Sir H. Spelm. Conc. Tom. 2. fol. 717, 718.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Pope's Legats, Collectors.

IN the foregoing Chapters particular instances have been made of some of those many, and great summs of money heretofore going out of *England* to the Pope, and Court of *Rome*; with some of the wayes, and means of drawing the same thither: wherein we had occasion of mentioning the Pope's Legates, Agents, Collectors, and Officers, imployed about the gathering, and transmitting those summs: of some of whom, it will not, I conceive, be impertinent to revive some memorials, as tending something to the amplification of the particulars before specified.

Pandulfus of these shall be the *Antesignanus*, though not first in time, yet as most notorious: To him, as the Pope's substitute, it was, that King *John* was inforced to surrender his Crown, laying the same, his Scepter, Robe, Sword, and Ring, the Royal Ensigns, at his feet; subscribing to a Charter, whereby he surrendred his Kingdom to the Pope, and paying an Annual Pension of 1000 marks for both the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, and professing that thenceforward he would hold

Pandulfus. Matt. Paris. John Serres Hist. in Phil. August. Sneed Chron.

Crown, and Kingdoms, as a Feudetary to the Pope. But of this Legat, and this action, enough before, in King *John*'s Penſion; from whom we paſs to.

Nicolas Thuſculanus.

Nicolas Thuſculanus, who was the next Legat, and came to get the former Grant of King *John* renewed: This man ſped ſo well in his Negotiation, as he returned to his Maſter with great ſumms of money: beſides having diſpoſed of a multitude of the ſpiritual Dignities, and Benefices, to the Pope's Kinſmen, to *Italians*, and Strangers, all abſent, unknown, and inſufficient, yea, and to ſome unborn.

Jo. Derlingt.

John Derlington was ſeveral years Collector of *Peter-Pence*, Diſms, and other ſumms accruing hence, to Pope *John*, *Nicolas* the third, and *Martin* the third, of

Jo. Leland. Coll.

whom *Leland* ſayes thus, *Nullo enim tempore defuerunt ſuæ artes Romanis corrodendi pecunias, relicto religioſo Apoſtoli Petri, Derlingtonus iniqui proditoris Judæ permanſit in Officio*: to reward which ſervice of *Derlington*, the Pope, by Proviſion, made him Archbiſhop of *Dublin*; wherein,

In an. 7 Ed. 1. Bal. de Script. Britt. Cent. 4. c. 56.

as *John Bale* ſayes, he carryed himſelf, *ut mercenarius, & non Paſtor, non ut paſcat, ſed ut mulgeat vel tondeat.*

Otho Matt. Paris. fo. 446. Acts & Mon. Tom. 1. fo. 26. H. d'Knigt. coll. fo. 2440.

Otho comes next, who, how received, and preſented, how he abuſed the King, pilled the Clergy, and in intolerable manner damnified the whole Kingdom, is at large related by *Matthew Paris*, and others: one, *viz. Henry de Knighton*, gives him this

this exit, *Hic cum esset onustus pecunia, & quædam Statuta edidisset, reversus est ad locum unde exierat.* Of him we meet with this passage; Once making an essay to enter *Scotland*, to see what he could get there; the *Scots* King advised him to beware, for his Subjects were rough fellows, and certainly would do him a mischief, when they understood his errand. Besides, it being a bare Country, he might well be slighted, as once an honest poor man did the Thieves, which he was told were broken into his house, Let them alone, said he, for they will have much ado to find something in the dark, when I my self can find nothing in the light. But notwithstanding all this discouragement, on he went as far as he durst, that is, to the Borders, where some of the Bishops of *Scotland* meeting him, partly with good words, and partly with meances, something he got out of them, as I remember about 3000*l.* of which no doubt but he gave a good account. At another time, this *Otho* came to *Oxford*, where he was entertain'd with good respect: and the Scholers, after dinner, coming to give him a visite, the rude Porter at the Gate gave them an uncivil repulse; which, with throwing scalding water in one of their faces, and in revenge thereof the death of the Master Cook, such a hubbub was raised, that the Legate was glad, for safe-

Ypod. Neustr. fo. 59 Knighton Coll. 2432. Polychron. l. 7. c. 35.

ty, to get into the Steeple, where ſculking, he might hear the rabble, ranging about, ſearching for him, and crying out, where is that Uſurer, that *Simoniack*, that piller, and poller, and filcher of our money, who perverting the King, and ſubverting the Kingdom, inricheth ſtrangers with our ſpoils. But in the dead of the night, out he creeps, and with ſome difficulty got over the River, running to the King not far off, to whom he tells a pittiful ſtory, with his hazards, beſeeching his protection for thoſe of his Company, in great danger, left behind. Whereupon the King preſently ſends a Company of armed men, who apprehended thirty Schollers ingaged in the *Riot*, which they carryed in Carts to *Wallingford* Caſtle, and thence to *London*, who being brought barefoot to the *Legate*'s dore, upon great intreaty of the Biſhops, and their penitent ſubmiſſion, all were pardoned, and the Univerſity releaſed of Interdiction.

Per. Rubeus

Petrus Rubeus comes next in play: for the underſtanding of whoſe Negotiation, and Artifices, I will give you only one Paragraph of *Matthew Paris*, viz. *Per eoſdem dies, venit in Angliam nova quædam pecuniæ exactio, omnibus ſæculis inaudita & execrabilis. Miſit enim Papa, pater noſter Sanctus, quendam exactorem in Angliam, Petrum Rubeum; qui excogitata miſcipulatione, infinitam pecuniam a miſeris Anglicis edoctus erat emungere. Intravit*

Matt. Paris in An. 1240. fo. 523. Flor. Hiſt. An. 1240.

travit enim Religiosorum Capitula, cogens & seducens eos ad persolvendum, exemplo aliorum Prælatorum, quos mentitus asserebat gratanter persolvisse : Dixit enim, ille Episcopus, & ille : ille Abbas, & ille jam libens satisfecit : quidnam vos ignavi tam moramini, ut grates cum muneribus amittatis ? Fecit enim prædictus Impostor jurare, ut hoc genus pecuniam extorquendi nulli hominum infra dimidium anni facerent manifestum ; quasi eliciens hoc ex singulorum primitiva professione, cum tantum de honestis sit Consilium Papale celandum. Hoc faciendo more prædonum domesticorum, qui fidem ab expoliatis extorquent ; ut nulli pandant nomina spoliantium. Sed etiam si homines silerent, lapides Ecclesiarum contra grassatores clamorem levarent. Nec potuit hoc maleficium latere sub tenebris : quomodo enim possent Prælati à suis & sibi subjectis pecuniam exigere, nisi causa exactionis exprimeretur ? To all which, being so plain, and notorious, although there needs neither Translation, nor Comment : yet the English Reader may please to know the import of it to be this ; That about that time came into *England* an abhominable way of exacting money, never heard of before : For our Holy Father the Pope sent a notable fellow, *Peter Rubeus*, by name, who with a cunning mouse-trap trick, wip'd the poor English of infinite summs of money. For he would come An D. 1240.

amongſt the Eccleſiaſticks, when they were met together in their Chapters, and perſwade, and compel them to promiſe, and pay certain ſumms, telling them lies that many others had given freely, That this Biſhop, and that; this *Abbot*, and that, had given ſuch and ſuch ſumms; and upbraiding them for their ſlackneſs. Then the Impoſtor would make them ſwear that they would not diſcover to any one within half a year what they had given; telling them that was the antient way of keeping the Popes ſecrets according to their Oath or promiſe at their firſt profeſſion: Therein doing like Thieves that extort Oaths from them they rob, not to diſcover their names. But here, if men ſhould hold their peace, the very ſtones of the Churches would cry out againſt theſe robbers, *&c.*

Ruffinus. Mumelinus.

Contemporary with *Rubeus*, were *Ruffinus*, and *Mumelinus*, who acted their parts alſo in this Tragedy; and of whom ſomething before.

Stephanus. An. D. 1249.

Stephanus, another of the Pope's *Legates* took his turn alſo, to the great profit of his Maſter, and the univerſal damage of the Kingdom. For the Pope being at difference with the Emperour *Frederick*, this *Stephanus* was ſent to demand, and collect the Tenths of all moveables of all the Clergy, and Laity, both in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*: on which occaſion the Argument was apply'd, That *Rome*

Rome being the Mother of all Churches, ought to be relieved by her Children, which was done very dutifully at that time.

Walo, another *Legat*, must not be forgotten, and his Province was to gather Procurations throughout all *England*, of all Cathedrals, Churches, and Religious Houses, which he managed strenuously. Walo.

William de Testa was another of the Pope's *Legates*, and Collectors; *Matthew Westminster*, and *Thomas Walsingham*, end the raign of King *Edward* the first, with the general Complaints of the Nobles, Commons, and Clergy of *England*, against the grievances, and exactions of this *William de Testa*, and one *Peter Hispan*, the Pope's *Legat à Latere*, in the Parliament held at *Carlile*. The Petitions, and address to the King, for remedie of those grievances, are very remarkable, still preserved amongst our Records, and lately exhibited to publick view. W. de Testa. Flor. Hist. An. 1307. The. Walsin. fo. 64. Ypod. Neust. 97, 98. Ryley Placit. Parliamentaria, fo. 376, 377.

Albertus, *Alexander*, *Johannes Anglicus*, *Johannes de Diva*, *Ferentinus*, *Martinus*, *Rustandus*, *Petrus Enguelbanck*, *Gasper Pons*, *Pol. Vergil*, and a multitude more, might here be remembred, but our Histories being generally fraught with their Acts, and devices, the curious are referred thither for more satisfaction, if they please. Albertus, &c.

Besides these *Legates*, Collectors, and Factors, there was another sort of men Caursins. Lombards.

came over into *England* much inſtrumental in improving, and tranſmitting the Pope's moneys: And theſe were called Caurſins, and *Lombards*: *Italians* by Country, and terming themſelves the Pope's Merchants: theſe drove the trade of letting out of money, of which they had great Banks, and were eſteemed far more ſevere and mercileſs than the Jews. *Matthew Paris* gives this Etymology of the name *Caurſini*, *quaſi Capientes*, *& urſini*, becauſe they worryed men like Bears.

An. D. 1235.

Matt. Paris in Hen. 3 fo. 417.

Now, becauſe the Pope's *Legates*, and Collectors, were all for ready money, when any ſumm by Levy, Firſt Fruits, Tenths, Diſpenſations, *&c.* became due, and payable to the Pope, by any Prelate, Covent, Prieſt, or Lay perſon, theſe Caurſins would furniſh them with preſent Caſh, upon their entring into ſome ſolemn Bond, or Obligation, as ſecurity for ſo much money ſent: The form of which Bond, or Obligation, in Engliſh, was as followeth; To all that ſhall ſee this preſent writing, *Thomas* the *Prior*, and the Convent of *Barnwell* greeting, *&c.* Know ye that we have borrowed and received at *London*, for our ſelves, and profitably to be expended for the affairs of us and our Houſe, from *Franciſco*, and *Gregorio*, for them and their partners, Citizens and Merchants of *Millain*, one hundred and four marks, 133*s.* 4*d.* of lawful money Sterling being counted to every mark. Which ſaid one hundred and 4 marks

marks we promiſe to re-pay at the Feaſt of St. *Peter ad Vincula* at the new Temple in *London*, *An. D.* 1235. And if the ſaid money be not fully payd at the ſaid time and place, we bind our ſelves to pay to the ſaid Merchants, or to any one of them, or their certain Attorney, for every Ten marks forborn two moneths, one mark for damages by reaſon of non-payment, with the expences of one Merchant with his horſe and man, till the money be all payd. And for payment of Principal, Intereſt, damages, and expences, we oblige our ſelves, our Church, and ſucceſſors, and all our goods, and the goods of our Church moveable, and immoveable, Eccleſiaſtical, or Temporal, which we have, or ſhall have, whereſoever they ſhall be found, to the ſaid Merchants and their heirs. And do recognize and acknowledge, that we poſſeſs and hold the ſaid goods from the ſaid Merchants by way of courteſie only untill the ſaid money be fully payd. And we renounce for our ſelves and ſucceſſors, all aid of Canon and Civil Law, all Priviledges, and Clerkſhip, the Epiſtle of St. *Adrian*, all Cuſtoms, Statutes, Letters, Indulgences, Priviledges obtained for the King of *England* from the See Apoſtolick: as alſo we renounce the benefit of all Appeals, or Injunctions, with all other exceptions real or perſonal which may be excepted againſt the validity of this Inſtrument. All which we promiſe faithfully to obſerve. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſet the

the ſeal of our Covent. Dated at *London*, *Die quinto Elpbegi*, in the year of Grace, 1235.

Feſt. S. Elph. April 19.

You ſee by this how ſure, and firm they made their ſecurity: and then the ſeverity of theſe Caurſins oftentimes conſtrained their Debtors to ſell even their Chalices, and Church Plate, to diſcharge theſe Obligations, and ſecure the reſt of their goods; for which they became ſo hated, and obnoxious, that *Roger*, Biſhop of *London*, once excommunicated them for their wicked oppreſſions; but then they appealing to their good friend the Pope, he interpos'd, and cauſed the Biſhop to deſiſt. A ſtreet in *London*, from their meeting, and reſiding there, then acquir'd, and to this day retains the name of Lombard-ſtreet, *quaſi* Banker-ſtreet. On fall of the Pope's revenues here, theſe Caurſins pack'd up, and tranſplanted themſelves into other Countrys.

Stow Survey of London. fo. 217.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Complaints of the People.

WHat ſenſe the People had of all theſe grievances, burdens, and extorſions, and what complaints they made upon the ſame, if I ſhould go about to exemplifie, out of our Records, and the Hiſtorians who have delivered them amply, and at large, it would be infinite, and far exceed our deſigned limits. Nay, many learned Romaniſts themſelves, as *Cl. Eſpencæus*, *Marſilius* of *Padua*, *Nic. Clemanges*, *Theodoric de Nyem*, *Æneas Sylvius*, *Mantuan*, and a multitude more, have with open mouths, cryed out againſt the avarice, and exactions of the Popes, and Court of *Rome*: one of them ſaying, That *Rome* being at firſt founded by Robbers, doth yet retain her firſt Original: and that it is called *Roma*, *quaſi rodens manus*, and this Rhime thereupon made,

Roma manus rodit, quos rodere non valet, odit. Johan. Andreas.

and this,

Dantes cuſtodit, non dantes ſpernit, & odit.

And

Matt. Paris in Hen. 3.

And *Germanus*, Archbishop of *Constantinople*, once signified to the Cardinals at *Rome*, That the Grecians were much scandalized, and stumbled at this, That the Cardinals desired to be accounted his Disciples who said, *Silver and Gold have I none*, when they were altogether intent upon gathering of Silver and Gold.

Petrarch, in an Epistle of his, saith, That the grim Porter is appeased with Gold, That Heaven is open'd with Gold, and Christ himself sold for money. And for the prices, and rates, there is a notorious Book, styled *Taxa Camerâ Apostolicæ*, specifying what may be had at *Rome* for money, and for how much.

Impref. Pariſ. An. D. 1520.

For our selves, what a multitude of complaints do we meet withall, made in, and by Parliaments, in the raigns of King *Hen.* 3. *Ed.* 1. *Ed.* 3. and of other Kings of all these grievances, and mischiefs, all preserved upon the Rolls, as so many scarrs of the wounds, which that way our Ancestors received from *Rome*. And what advices the Parliaments gave to our Kings in that case, our Records abundantly testifie.

An. 21 Ed. 3. An. 40 Ed. 3. Rot. Par.

Rot. Parl. 18 Ed. 3.

Anno 18 *Ed.* 3. The Commons find great fault with Provisions coming from *Rome*, whereby strangers injoyed the best Dignities, and Benefices, causing decay of Hospitality, transporting the Treasure of the Land to the Kings Enemies, the discovering the secrets of the Realm, with many other mischiefs, and inconveniences; humbly beseeching

seeching the King, and Nobles, to find some remedy: whereupon, by common consent, the Act of Provision was made, to remedy those mischiefs, as by the Act at large it doth appear.

The transactions in Parliament held at *Carlile* are very memorable to this purpose, consisting of Petitions to the King for some relief in these grievances, which produced a Letter, or Remonstrance of all the Papal oppressions, and exactions, drawn up in the name of the King, Nobles, and Commons of *England*, and sent to Pope *Clement* by special messengers, all still preserved amongst our Tower Records, and lately published to the World. Ryley Placit. Parliament. fo. 376, &c.

A multitude more of Petitions, Remonstrances, Orders, Ordinances, and Statutes, to the same purpose might here be amassed, against the Pope, and the intolerable exactions, and extorsions of his Legates, Nuncio's, and Collectors: but, to avoid tediousness, I referr the Reader to that excellent Abridgement of the Tower Records from K. *Edw.* 2. to K. *Ric.* 2. by Sir *Robert Cotton*, lately Printed, where most plentiful satisfaction may be had. Sr. Rob. Cotton's Records. Impres. An. 1657. vid. ib. 50Ed.3.fo.128.

Hitherto of publick complaints, now for those of particular persons, I cannot omit that of *Robert Grosthead*, the devout, and famous Bishop of *Lincoln*: who observing the miserable burdens endured by his Countrey from these Romish exactions, took the boldness to write a Letter thereof to Pope *Innocent*

Matt. Paris in Hen. 3. An. 1253. fo. 870.

cent the fourth exemplified at large by *Mat. Paris*, expoſtulating with him to this purpoſe: That by his exactions, and Inſtruments with *non obſtante*, he brought on this Nation a *Noah*'s flood of Miſchiefs, whereby the purity of the Church was defiled, and the Common-wealth perturbed. That by his Reſervations, Commenda's and Proviſions of Benefices for ſuch perſons as ſought to fleece, and not to feed the flock of God, he committed a ſin, than which none was at any time more hateful to God, or deſtructive unto man, except that of *Lucifer*, nor ever will be, but the ſin of Antichriſt. He ſignified further, that no man could, with a good Conſcience, obey the mandates he had ſent, though they came from the higheſt order of Angels; for they tended not to the edification, but the utter ruine of the Church. With much more to the like purpoſe. At all which the Pope was ſo gall'd, that he exclaim'd againſt him thus, What means this old dotard, this ſurd abſurd man, thus to arraign our actions; By *Peter* and *Paul*, I could find in my heart to make him a dreadful example to all the World: Is not the King of *England* our Vaſſal, and both he, and his, at our pleaſure? But ſome of the more temperate Cardinals endeavour'd to allay the Pope's heat, telling him the Biſhop had ſaid nothing, but what they all knew to be true, and that it would not be diſcretion to meddle with a perſon of his piety, worth, and fame; whereupon all was ſmother'd, and

Ut enim vera fateamur, vera ſunt quæ dicit. Mat. Pari. ſupr.

and no more words made on't. But for that notable Epiſtle it ſelf, I have been credibly told, that it is inrolled, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, in the Red Book, in the King's Exchequer at *Weſtminſter*, with this Marginal Note, *Papa Antichriſtus*. And there is a very memorable Epiſtle of *Petrus Caſſiodorus*, a noble Italian Knight, written to the Engliſh Church about the twenty ninth year of K. *Edw.* 1. exhorting them to caſt off the Romiſh yoak of Tyranny, oppreſſion, and exaction, formerly preſerved in Manuſcript in St. *Albans* Monaſtery, but ſince made publick; too large to be here inſerted, but moſt worthy to be peruſed.

Jo. Baſ. de Rom. Pont. Act. lib. 6. Acts & Mon. vol. 1. fo. 46.

The Poets alſo, according to the ſcantling of the wit of thoſe times, ſpared not to ſatyrize upon theſe intolerable exactions of the Popes, one whereof made this Diſtich,

Roma capit marcas, burſas exhaurit, & arcas:
Ut tibi tu parcas, fuge Papas, & Patriarchas.

Antiquit. Britt. An. 1337.

Rome drains all Bags, all Cheſts, and Burſes,
Of all their Pounds, and Marks:
If therefore you would ſave your Purſes,
Fly Popes, and Patriarchs.

Obſervable alſo is it, upon theſe incroachments, and extorſions, how ſometimes our Kings would deſpond, and tamely ſuffer the Popes,

Popes, and their Legates to grow upon them: and at other times rouze up themſelves, and give ſome check to their inſolencies: As K. *Hen.* 3. though a facile man, yet was once ſo inrag'd againſt *Rubeus*, that he bad him be gone out of his Kingdom in the Devil's name. And as theſe exactions were at the height in that King's time, yet his Succeſſors did not always ſuffer them ſo to continue, being forced to ſet ſome bounds to thoſe avaricious torrents, by the Statutes of Proviſors, and Premunire: and oftentimes to give ſtout denials, to unreaſonable demands; as the Engliſh Clergy themſelves, at laſt, adventured to do, in the years 1515. and 1518.

Pol. Vergil. Hiſt. in Ric 2. lib. 20.

Lo. Herb. Hen. 8. fo. 57, 59.

And obſervable alſo is it, that *Q. Mary*, though moſt zealous for the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, yet in reſtoring the Pope's Supremacy, ſhe and the State were very cautious, like thoſe whom others harms had made to beware; and ſome prudent proviſions were made in that behalf: neither were the Statutes of *Premunire* repeal'd in all her raign; but the Pope's Supremacy was reſtor'd, not *ſimpliciter*, but *ſecundum quid*, as bounded within ſome legal limitations. But her raign was ſhort, and not pleaſant, and the Pope wanted time to work her for his purpoſe, for having got his head in, he did not doubt but by degrees to thruſt in his whole body: for it is ever obſervable, that in the Papal concerns there is no moderation, for they muſt have all, or nothing, let their pre-

Stat. 1 & 2 Phil. & mar. cap. 8.

Coke 3. Inſtit. cap. 4. fo. 127.

tences,

sences, and promises, at first admission, be what ever they will. And whatever Prince, or State shall once admit of any Papal authority within their Dominions, their destiny may easily be read, that they, and their people, must for ever after be slaves, or if they once begin to boggle, or kick, the Casuists have legitimated many ways to rid them out of the World, for the advancement of the Catholick cause, and the propagation of the Roman Faith.

Now, after this imperfect Account given of the Rents, and Revenues of the Popes, heretofore issuing out of this Kingdom, if any one shall desire to have some estimate made of the summs, I must profess it beyond the reach of my Arithmetick, and when I see any Accountant do it, *Erit mihi magnus Apollo.* Yet this is certain, that they were very vast: Otherwise there was no ground for that Complaint, which was made by the Kingdom's Representative in the raign of K. *Edw.* 3. That the Pope's Collector held a receipt, or audit, equal to a Prince. Or for that which King *John* wrote to the Pope in his time, That this Kingdom yielded him more profits, than all the other Countreys on this side the *Alpes.* Or for that boast of the Pope, *Vere, inquit Papa, hortus noster deliciarum est Anglia, vere puteus est inexhaustus: Et ubi multa abundant, de multis multa sumere licet.* Or for the computation made in the time of King *Hen.* 3. *Repertus est annuus redditus Papæ talis, quem ne re-*

Rot. Parl. 50 Ed. 3. nu. 105. Mat. Paris. 224.

Id. 224.

Antiq Britt. fo. 178.

gius quidem attigit, That the Pope's rents exceeded the Crown revenues. Or the Remonſtrance to the ſame purpoſe from the whole Kingdom to Pope *Innocent* the fourth in the year 1245. exhibited by *Mat. Paris*, *Fox*, and others, too long to be here inſerted, but moſt worthy to be read, and the import thereof throughly underſtood. Nay we may well judge the Pope's incomes to exceed all account, when it appears, that notwithſtanding ſome notable proviſions of State to the contrary, the Pope's *intradá* ſhould yet carry ſo huge a proportion, That in the Parliament held in the twenty third year of King *Hen.* 8. it was computed, that the Papacy had received out of *England*, for the Inveſtitures of Biſhops only, ſince the ſecond year of King *Hen.* 7. not much above 40 years, 160000 l. ſterling; an incredible ſum, conſidering the ſcarcity, and value of ſilver at that time, and the laws againſt ſuch exportations. And the ſums going to *Rome* muſt needs be infinite, when a Statute prohibiting the payment of any impoſitions to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and enumerating ſome of the ways, whereby the ſame were exacted, and raiſed, concludes thoſe ways, and means to have been infinite.

Matt. Paris. fo. 666. 698. Act. & Mon. Tom. 1.

Io. Herb. Hiſt. Hen. 8. fo. 330.

Stat. 25 H. 8. cap. 21.

But it is not more difficult to give a perfect account of all the ſumms, than it is eaſie to apprehend and underſtand the malevolent influence that all this had upon the Kingdom: when it is moſt evident, that our Kings were thereby continually affronted,

vexed,

vexed, and debaſed: The Rights of all perſons injuriouſly invaded, and uſurp'd upon: The Coin, and Treaſure of the Nation continually drained out: The ſecrets of the Kingdom diſcovered: All Arts, Learning, and Trading diſcouraged: The whole Nation weakned, and reduced to a ſtate of poverty, and ſlavery to Strangers, and laid open, and naked to the invaſion of all enemies. All which we have tranſmitted to us by unqueſtionable Authorities, the Rolls and Records of Parliaments, Statutes, and the Hiſtorians of thoſe times, generally Romaniſts, not ſparing to ſpeak out, though ſo much reflecting upon their Holy Father the Pope, chooſing rather to diſcover the Truth, than conceal their Fathers ſhame.

CHAP. XXIII.

Matthew Paris *Vindicated.*

OF the Historians which we have made use of in these discoveries, and Collections, you see we have been much beholden to *Matt. Paris*, who seldom spares to cry out, with great resolution, upon the corruptions of the Church in his time, and particularly upon the cruel exactions, and extorsions of the Popes, and their Creatures; who biting so hard upon this sore, I find the Cardinals *Bellarmine*, and *Baronius*, endeavouring to loosen his teeth. *Bellarmin* speaks of him thus, *Hæc Historia multa habet scitu digna, præsertim de rebus Ecclesiasticis, de concilio Lugdunensi, de dissidio inter Ecclesiam & Imperium. Sed quoniam edita est ab hæreticis Tigurinis, caute legenda est: non pauca enim leguntur tum in ipso libro, tum in notis marginalibus, quæ videntur addita ab hæreticis, ad invidiam conflandam Rom. Ecclesiæ, i. e.* This History hath many things worthy to be known, chiefly touching Ecclesiastical affairs, the Council of *Lyons*, and the difference between the Church, and the Empire: But inasmuch as it is now published by the *Tigurin* Hereticks, it is to be warily read; for there are not a few things, as well in the Book it self, as in the Marginal Notes, which seem to have been

Bell. de Script. Eccl. in M. Paris. fo. 248.

have been added by Hereticks, to throw envy on the Roman Church. And then *Baronius*, thus, *Matt. Paris Hist. Ang. à quo si quis demat calumnias, invectivas, dicacitates, & blasphemias in Sedem Apostolicam, ejusque Pontifices (nisi probra illa fuerint additamenta potius ejus qui primus edidit, hæretici hominis; cum peculiare sit illis, libros, quos potuerint, depravare) aureum sane dixerit comentarium*, i. e. *Matt. Paris*, the English Historian, whose calumnies, invectives, twatling malapertness, and blasphemies, against the See Apostolick, and the Popes, if any one lay aside (unless those reproaches were rather the additions of some Heretick that first publish'd him, as it is peculiar to such to deprave all the Books they can) he might esteem it a golden Comentary. Which aspersions upon the credit of our Historian, induces me to make a little enquiry into his quality, and reputation: and that the rather, in regard I find two of our own Countrymen endeavouring also to throw some blots upon his credit, *viz. John Pitz*, a Collector of our English Writers, insinuating his discoveries of the corruptions of the Church in his time, *non ab ipso sic scripta, sed ab aliis illi falso ascripta fuisse*. And *Brian Twine* the *Oxford* Advocate, suspecting the fidelity of Archbishop *Parker*, in his Edition of *Matt. Paris*.

Baron. Annal. An. Ch. 996.

Jo. Pitz. de Script. Angl. Æt. 13. 367. Brian Twine de Antiq. Oxon. l. 3. fo. 283.

For what the Romanists say against our Historian, it imports no more than a light suspicion only, that something was added

by the first Editor, and nothing affirmed directly, or if it were, it would soon vanish, upon this consideration, that what *Matt. Paris* writes, stands justified, not only by all the authentick, and uncontroulable Records, but also by the concurrence of all the Historians of that Age, (besides what we shall presently hear in vindication of our Editions more directly:) And first, premising that *Matthew* was a Benedictine Monk of St. *Alban's*, a Servant, and Favourite of King *Hen.* 3. in whose time he liv'd, and at whose instance he compil'd his History; imployed by Pope *Innocent* the fourth, not only to visit the Monks in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, but also sent to reform a Convent in *Norway* much corrupted: Let's then see what testimonies are given of him.

Eadmerus lib. 2. Malmsb. lib. 2. fo. 136. Nubrigens. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Jo. Leland. Tom. 4. fo. 207.

Leland thus, *Domum reverſus aſſidue, quemadmodum & ante fecit, ſtudiis vacabat, ac doctos viros, quotquot tunc temporis in Britannia claruerunt, impenſiſſime coluit, unde variam ſibi multarum rerum cognitionem pariebat. Quid dixi, ſibi pariebat? immo patriæ potius, & poſteritati.*

Jo. Balæus de Script. Brit. cent. 4. n. 26.

Jo. Bale, to the same purpose, and further, giving an account of his Histories, *In quibus*, says he, *quorundam Rom. Pontificum avaritias, fraudes, mendacia, dolos, pompas, impudentias, tyrannides, & artes peſſimas ita depinxit, ut nunquam ullus Apelles melius.*

Cent. Æt. 13. cap. 10.

The *Centuriators* of *Magdeburg* give him this Character, *Vir imprimis eruditus fuit, qui & ſingulari fide & dexteritate Hiſtoriam*

am Anglarum conſcripſit ; proceeding in the words of *Bale* before.

Flaccius Illyricus, ſpeaking of his Hiſtory, ſaith thus, *In eo opere valde multa narrat de graviſſima Papæ tyrannide, qui miris artibus omnia Eccleſ. jura ad ſe rapuerit, imo & quam multiplicibus artibus Angliam penitus ſit depræda tus, expilaverit, & exſuxerit.* Catalog. Teſt. lib. 16.

The learned *Iſaac Caſaubon*, without queſtion, for good reaſon breaks out thus, *Quis neſcit ſanctiſſimam Paparum authoritatem dudum verſam eſſe in horribilem tyrannidem ? Jam elapſa ſunt multa ſecula cum omnes boni hoc vident, & gemunt. Unus Matthæus Paris probationi ejus rei ſatis ſuperque fuerit.* And, in another Epiſtle of his, he defends *Matt. Paris* againſt the falſe accuſations of *Coifetellus* drawn from that of *Bellarmin*, and *Baronius* before ; adding, that his own Eyes, comparing the Prints, with the extant Manuſcripts, ſufficiently confuted their ſlanders, as vain, ridiculous, and falſe ; in regard he found no variance at all between them, eſpecially in that which concerns the Pope's rapines ; and thereupon he concludes thus, *Quare falſiſſima eſt Baronii, & Bellarmini conjectura.* Is. Caſaubon. Epiſt. ad Cariet. Ep. 1. Epiſt. 99. Proleg. ad Ex. Baronian.

The modeſt, and learned *Ger. Jo. Voſſius*, on whoſe credit much may be taken up, of our Hiſtorian ſaith thus, *Hiſtoria Matt. Paris Cantabrigiæ adſervatur in Collegio S. Benedicti : Oxi & in Bibliotheca Baronis de Lumley : ac primum Londini, poſt Tiguri, typis* Ger. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Latinis lib. 2. cap. 58.

typis divulgata fuit : atque id fida bona, ut Manuſcripti quos dixi, codices cui vis fidem fecerint: and then he takes notice of that invidious aſperſion of *Twine*; who being an *Oxford* man, it ſeems he was never ſo happy as to ſee that incomparable treaſure of Antiquities in *Benet* Colledge Library in *Cambridge*, congeſted by that moſt worthy Prelate; where his own Eyes might have confuted the ſlander of his pen.

Deg. Wheat de Method. legend. Hiſt. ſect. 29.

Degoreus Wheat, in his excellent *Methodus, &c.* ranks our Hiſtorian amongſt the reſt thus, *His etiam adnectat veram illam & fidelem Matthæi Pariſienſis Hiſtoriam.*

An. D. 1640. Londini.

Laſtly, Dr. *W. Watts*, a very good Antiquary, and Hiſtorian, puts forth *Mat. Paris* again, in an excellent Equipage, and with all attendants befitting his merit; having firſt compared the former *London* Edition of Archb. *Parker*, with all the Manuſcripts extant, and then Printing this *Verbatim* with the former, as not finding that differing at all from the Manuſcripts. One whereof, remaining in the King's Library at St. *James's*, and which *Is. Caſaubon* examined, and had ſome time in his keeping, is taken to be the very authentick *autoſcript* of the Author, written with his own hand, and heretofore kept in the Monaſtery Library of St. *Alban's*.

Proleg. ut ſupr.

Then, for the aſperſion of *Twine*, it is, without all doubt, as falſe, and frivolous, as it is unworthy; proceeding chiefly from his inveterateneſs againſt the moſt eminent Univerſity of *Cambridge*, which it ſeems he could

could not vent, without endeavouring to blast the memory of a most reverend, learned, and faithful Prelate, whose great integrity, and fame, will ever stand impenetrable to the teeth of this angry nibler.

Thus, having set our honest Author *rectus in Curia*, upon the testimonies of so many creditable Witnesses, we may well conclude, That the Times, the Popes, and the Court of *Rome* were corrupted, and not the Historian: and that what we have of *Matt. Paris* is but the Eccho of the People's complaints, and groans, in those times, which sounding so harsh in the Romanists ears, it is no wonder they are so displeased to hear it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Abbies, Monasteries, &c.

HItherto our Collections have reached only to mention, or point at such summs of money as heretofore went out of *England* to the Popes, and Court of *Rome*, whilst they exercised any power here. Now, if I should proceed to specifie the other vast summs of money, as yearly, nay daily issued out of the King's publick Exchequer, and the People's private purses, upon the score of Popery, and as appurtenant thereunto, spent and expended within the Kingdom, to vain, insignificant, and superstitious purposes; I should tire my Reader with multitudes of particulars, and yet shame my self, in falling so infinitely short of such an Account as Truth would make: And therefore I shall only hint briefly at some heads, or generals of the same.

Vid. Speed's Catalogue.

In the first place then, the founding, and endowing of a multitude of *Abbies*, *Monasteries*, *Nunneries*, *Chanteries*, *Free-Chappels*, and Colledges, within the Realm; and those generally with the best lands, and revenues, exhausted and swallowed up many fair estates, diverting them from the right heirs, to the ruine, or decay of many noble Houses, and Families.

Then

Then the Votaries that entered into these Abbies, Monasteries, and Nunneries, alwayes carryed their portions, and estates along with them: and by themselves, or their friends, gave either Lands, Goods, Plate, Jewels, Copes, Vestments, or some other Ornament, at their first admittance into one of the Convents: as many English do at this day, upon their entrance into religious houses, and Orders, beyond the Seas.

These Houses were also wonderfully inrich'd by the burials of great Persons in them: For in this matter of Sepulture, Monasteries, and Abbies were alwayes preferred greatly, before all other Churches, upon the estimation of the Sanctity of those places, and a presumption that their Souls in Purgatory should have some benefit by the Prayers of the professed there: with this further confidence, that such as were buryed in Fryers habits, should have wonderful advantages thereby: For which purpose, it is said that King *John* was buryed at *Worcester* in a Monks Cowl. And Mr. *Dugdale* makes mention of some of the Honourable family of the *Hastings*, that lye buryed in the Grey Fryers, at *Coventre*, in the very habits of Fryers Minors: Proceeding, that this Orders of Fryers was so much reverenced by the generality of people, that by the Bequests, and Testaments of most men, and women, of abilities, it appears that formerly they seldom neglected to give more,

Weaver Fun. Mon. fo. 158.

Sr. Ric. Baker in K. John. Dugdal. Ant. Warw. fo 115.

more, or less to one, or other religious House of this Rule: and if they were Persons of quality, they commonly made choice of their Sepulture in one of them. Neither was it the least policy of these Fryers to obtain from great persons such a disposal of their bodies, considering how they were generally employed, and trusted in making their Wills, and Testaments: for where ever they sped in that kind, they were sure to have a good Legacy from the Testator, and not without hope, by so fair an Example, to obtain no less advantage by his posterity.

Tho Walsing. in Ed. 1 fo. 20. *Thomas Walsingham*, speaking of the burial of Queen *Eltanor*'s heart in the Church of the Fryers Minors in *London*, did not without cause complain thus of them, *Qui* (meaning the said Fryers) *sicuti & cuncti fratres reliquorum ordinum, aliquid de corporibus quorumcunque potentium morientium sibimet vendicabant, more canum cadaveribus assistentium, ubi quisque suam particulam avide consumendam expectat*, i. e. These, as all the Fryers of the like Orders, challenged something as their due from the bodies of great men dying, like a company of dogs snatching every one at a piece of a dead Carcass: Thus *Walsingham*, being a Monk, out of envy, spared not to snarle at the nimble Fryers; who, no doubt but some time or other would be even with him, and those of his Order.

Then these Professed Monks, and Fryers, upon

upon their visiting, and confessing of the sick, always used the most perswasive arguments they could, for the sick person to bestow something toward maintenance of their Fraternities, or repairing of their Covents: and that he would bequeath his Body to be buryed in the Church of their Covent, promising they would daily say Prayers, and Masses, for his soul's ease in, and release out of Purgatory. And by confessing such as were in health, they frequently injoined such penances, as made to the prejudice of the sinners purse, but their own profit.

Of the Exorbitances of these cloister'd Monks, and Fryers, many examples might be produced, as of their Ribauldry, Lechery, Quarelling, Fighting, Idleness, Chearing, Thieving, Debauchery, Gluttony, &c. all maintain'd by the People's money: but we will here content our selves with one instance only. King *Edward* the first, about the latter end of his raign having collected a vast summ of money, to carry on his warr against the *Scots*, and layd it up in his Treasury at *Westminster*, his Treasury was broken up in the night, and one hundred thousand pounds in money, besides Plate, and Jewels, stol'n out of it, by the *Abbot*, and Monks of *Westminster*, and their confederates, whereof eight and forty Monks, with the *Abbot*, were apprehended, and sent Prisoners to the Tower; and by Inquisition, and examination of witnesses, it appeared that divers of the Monks, and other

Cook 4 Instit. c. 11. fo. 112.

Pat. 31 Ed. 1. m. 23. dorſ. D: inquirend. de theſaurar. Regis fracto.

other perſons in the night time were ſeen often paſſing to and fro the Kings treaſury, and the Abby, carrying bundles in their arms, and laps, and that they conveyed away by water great hampers that were very heavy; and ſome part of the King's Plate, and Jewels, were found, and ſeiſed in *London*, and other places: upon which the Monks, were long detained in priſon, till afterwards releaſed by the King's ſpecial command, when he repaired to *Weſtminſter* to give thanks to God, for his Victories over the *Scots*.

Matt. Weſtm. An. 1303.

Matthew Weſtminſter, a Monk of that Abby, mincеth this ſtory of the Robbery of the Kings Treaſury, in favour of the Monks, and ſayes that only Ten of them were impriſoned; when it appears by the Record, that 48 of them, with the *Abbot*, were impriſoned, and Indited for it. And upon this occaſion it was, that the Court of Exchequer, ſometimes called the Novel Exchequer, was new built.

Cook ut Supra.

Chanterys, Free-Chappels, and Colledges, as they were inſtituted, and employed, ſpent and exhauſted huge ſumms of money, and revenues, the purpoſes of which expence will appear in the brief deſcription of the nature of thoſe Foundations.

Chantery.

A *Chantery* (ſo called *à Cantando*) was a Chappel (commonly annexed to ſome *Parochial*, *Collegiate*, or *Cathedral* Church) endowed with Lands, or ſome other yearly revenues, for the maintenance of one, or more

more Priests, daily to sing Masse, for the souls of the Donors, or Founders, and such others as they did appoint. Now the exact number of all these in *England* cannot be known, for they were very numerous: but if a Mathematician measured *Hercules* by his foot, a probable conjecture may be made of them from those which were founded in the Cathedral of St. *Paul* in *London*; for in the second year of King *Ed.* the sixth, a certificate was returned by the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul's*, to the King's Commissioners, affirming, that they had seven and forty Chanterys in that Church: according to which proportion there was certainly a vast revenue swallowed up by them throughout the whole Kingdom: For there was not a Cathedral, or Collegiate Church in *England*, but some number of Chanterys were founded in them, and in many Parochial Churches also? And if the model of the Country Churches be observed, very often some additional building, or excrescence appears, differing from the old, or first *Fabrick*, erected and used for these *Chanterys*. And that the nature, and use of these may be the better apprehended, we will here specifie the Foundation, and Ordination of one of them, *viz.*

Vid. Stat. 37 H. 8. ca. 4. & 1 Ed. 6. ca. 14.

Chanterys

Thomas de Pakinton, in the year 1348. *An.* 22. *Edward* the third, founded a *Chantery* at *Chelmescote* in *Warwickshire*, and setled Lands, and Tenements, of a good value to maintain four Priests, to sing Mass

W. Dugdale Antiq. Warw. in Chelmscote.

for

for his Lord the Earl of *Warwick*, his Countess, Children, and Ancestors, as also for himself, his Parents, Kinsfolks, and their posterity, and for the Souls of all faithful people deceased, in manner following, *viz.* Two of them, which were to inhabite near the Chappel at *Chelmscote*, every day to sing the Mattens of the day, and of the blessed Lady, with all Canonical hours distinctly, and openly: and to sing Mass daily; *viz.* one of them every Sonday, and on the great Festivals; and on Monday the Mass of the holy Trinity, Tuesday of St. *Thomas* the Martyr, on Wednesday of St. *Katherine*, and St. *Margaret*, Thursday of *Corpus Christi*, Friday of the holy Cross, and Saturday of the Annunciation of our Lady, The other Priest to celebrate every day the Mass of *Requiem* for the Souls of all faithful departed this life, and in every Mass to say 7 Collects, one of the celebration of the Mass; the second for him the said *Thomas de Pakinton*, viz. *Deus qui Caritatis*, &c. the third also for him after his death, *Deus cujus misericordiæ*, &c. the fourth of St. *Thomas* the Martyr: the fifth of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin: the sixth for the Souls of the deceased, beginning with *Inclina*: the seventh the general Collect, which beginneth *Sanctissimæ Dei genetrix Mariæ*, especially naming therein the said Earl, his Countess, and Children, and him the said *Thomas de Pakinton*, and all his kindred: and upon all Holy dayes to say a *Placebo*, and

Dirige,

Dirige; with ſpecial commendation of the Souls of the Perſons before ſpoken of, and the ſouls of all the faithful deceaſed. Likewiſe he ordained that the other two Prieſts ſhould live together near the Church, and be daily preſent therein at *Mattens*, and all other Canonical hours, to joyn with the other Prieſts, except juſt cauſe and hinderance happened; and daily ſing Maſs at the Altar near his Fathers grave. And that all theſe Prieſts, before their admiſſion to theſe Chanterys, ſhould take their corporal Oaths to obſerve all the Orders to their utmoſt power. And this Ordination, containing ſeveral other particulars, was confirm'd by the Canons of *Kenilworth*, Rectors of the Church; by *John de Chelmeſcote Vicar*; the Earl of *Warwick*; and Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Free-Chappels.

Free-Chappels, were ſuch as were founded, and endowed, and had no relation unto, or dependance on a Mother-Church; (ſaving only the right of Sepulture:) and theſe were greater than Chanterys, having greater Revenues, and more room for Prieſts, and more Prieſts for that room, to ſing Maſs, and pray for the ſouls of the Founders, and others, according to the inſtitution.

Colledges.

Colledges were Foundations of like nature, and though fewer in number, yet were richer than both the former: amongſt which the Colledge of *Fotheringhay*, in *Northampton-ſhire*, was yearly valued at four hundred nineteen pounds, eleven ſhillings, ten pence,

Speed Catal. in Northampt.

half-penny. For the Offices, and imployments of the Priests in these, and the *Free-Chappels* maintained, they were much of the nature of *Chanterys*, of which enough before.

Now, the yearly value of all those Lands, Tenements, Rents, and Revenues, which were setled upon these *Abbys*, *Monasterys*, *Nunnerys*, *Chanterys*, *Colledges*, and *Free-Chappels*, without doubt was as vast, as to us now unknown; the Pope being better able to give an account of them, at this day, than we our selves: for they say that Rentals, and Particulars of all those Lands, and revenues, are still kept upon the file, in the Pope's study, that great Landlord of the world, in expectation, and hope, they will once revert to their former use, and behoof: but the generous English will not easily be gull'd, and they will not be wheadled, by Romish Arguments, out of their Estates.

Shrines, Images, Reliques, &c.

In the next place, Shrines, Images, Reliques, Indulgences, *&c.* in a multitude of places within the Kingdom, daily drew great summs out of the People's purses, both in the procuring, and purchasing, and donation of such precious Commodities, and in daily resorting to them afterwards with Vows, and Offerings. But these being of the same nature, and *ejusdem farinæ*, with those at *Rome*, and elsewhere, of which enough before, we will trouble you no more with them here.

So

So the Commanding, and forbidding many things, wherein Diſpenſations might be had from Courts, and Officers here; as certain obſtacles of marriage; the uſe, and difference of meats; vows, *&c.* and all to be redeem'd for money. Diſpenſations.

Many wandring Mountebank Prieſts went up and down the Country, preaching the lives of ſome holy men, and Saints; and promiſing the ſimple people, that if they vowed themſelves to thoſe Saints, and payd ſomething in hand, and ſuch a yearly tribute, they ſhould be freed from ſuch diſeaſes as they deſired. Mountebank Prieſts.

The Biſhops had divers wayes, and Artifices, to ſcrue money out of the Prieſts under them; and then thoſe Prieſts, to heal themſelves, were forced to cheat, and wring money out of the people. Biſhops, and Prieſts.

Great, and frequent expences were had in Conſecrating, and hallowing of Churches, Church-yards, *&c.* Baptizing of Bells; making, repairing, apparelling, and adorning of Images; and ſuch like matters: for upon pretence that theſe, or any of theſe, were prophaned, by ſeveral and trifling wayes; then all muſt be conſecrated anew, and the Pariſh, and the People Aſſeſſed, and conſtrained to pay deeply for it. And of this kind of grievances, great complaints were often made. Conſecrations.

Many Courts were alſo in *England*, to which citations, and ſummons were made; and therein People continually vexed, tor- Courts.

mented, and excommunicated; and thence dismissed never, till excessive summs were extorted, and payd: the aggrieved partys not daring to appeal to *Rome*, for fear of more excessive charges. Nay the corruptions in, and the grievances growing by these Courts, as they were innumerable, so no other way tolerable, but that all was to be redeemed for money. And one pretty trick the Ecclesiastical Judges had in these Courts; that when the business of matrimony had proceeded so farr, that one of the partys had pretended a Contract, which the other denyed, and that some gifts, as earnests of love, or marriage, had passed between them, the Ecclesiastical Judges, separating the partys, would keep the gifts for themselves, as forfeited, or escheated.

Visitors &c. *Visitors*, and Synodal Judges, travelling about the Country, with a numerous retinue of Advocates, Proctors, Notaries, Registers, Summoners, Servants, Apparitors, and Officers, under Colour of visiting of Churches, Chappels, and Parishes, were a very great burden, and charge to the People where ever they came, scruing money upon every pretence out of their pockets, as they pleased, besides annual summs claimed as due; making themselves stalking-horses, whereby any man might satisfie his revenge, or malice upon his Neighbour, upon Complaint, Suggestion, or information, of wrongs done, or Canons broke; whereupon sentences, censures,

ſures, Condemnations, and Excommunications, with all rigour, followed, to the utter undoing of many men, the inriching the Judges, and Officers, but never turning to any avail, or ſatisfaction of the Complainant. Theſe Itinerants alſo extorted great ſumms, as they pleaſed, weekly, monethly, or yearly, from Uſurers, Brokers, Scriveners, Bakers, Butchers, Victuallers, Phyſitians, Surgeons, Midvives, Schoolmaſters, *&c.*

Private Confeſſions, as they were managed, were the more frequently, and exceſſively abuſed, for the drawing moneys out of men; in regard the cheat was cloſely handled, whilſt the Sinner's conſcience was quieted, and the world ſerved with a publick penance, or ſome viſible addreſſes to theſe Confeſſors. Confeſſions.

The new Doctrine, and invention of Purgatory, bred by Superſtition, and nurſed by Covetouſneſs, as it was managed, became a moſt forceable engine, continually to drain the People's money. For when men were made to believe, that after death their Souls ſhould enter into a region of Fire, there to ſuffer long, and bitter torments, to be purged, and fitted for the region of bliſs: but yet to be eaſed there, and the ſooner releaſed, according to the meaſure, and number of the Maſſes, Offices, and Prayers, which ſhould be made on their behalf here, whilſt they lay broiling in that fearful State: People were put upon it, to Purgatory.

make the beſt proviſion they could in their life-time, or at leaſt at their deaths, that ſuch helps, and means ſhould be uſed, on their behalf, as they might reaſonably reckon upon a ſhort, and tolerable continuance there.

To this purpoſe the Founding, and Endowing of Monaſteries, Abbys, Nunneries, by the beſt, and richer ſort, and the Colledges, Free-Chappels, and Chanterys, by the middle ſort of people, according to their reſpective abilitys, and the apprehenſions they had of this future State, all pointed at the good of the Founder's ſoul after death, and the ſouls of ſuch others as he appointed; of which we have had ſomething before.

But then, alas, for thoſe poor Creatures, whoſe ſmall eſtates, and narrowneſs of fortunes, would not reach to ſuch proviſions, what would become of them? Theſe then were put to it, to make the beſt ſhift they could for themſelves; by endeavouring in their life-time, to get an intereſt in the favour, and merit of ſome Saint, and by purchaſing, and getting all the Indulgences they could: for it was a very ſad thing to leave all to chance, or to truſt to the voluntary interceſſion of others; this would leave them at a great uncertainty, and, *in articulo mortis*, make the poor Soul ſhift its manſion in a moſt fearful apprehenſion, and horrour. Indeed Sir *Thomas Moore* was ſo Charitable a Sollicitor for theſe poor Souls,

Souls, that he drew up a most Pathetical Supplication for them, and presented it in their names thus, *To all good Christen people, in most piteous wise continually calleth, and cryeth upon your devout Charity, and tender pitie, for help, comfort, and relief, your late acquaintance, kindred, Companions, Spouses, Playfellows, and friends, and now your humble, and unacquainted, and half forgotten Suppliants, poor Prisoners of God, the silly Souls in Purgatory, here abiding, and induring the grievous pains, and hote clensing fire,* &c.

Sr. Thomas More's Supplication of Souls. In imitation of Gerson's querela defunctorum in igne Purgatorio ad Superstites amicos. Pars 4 oper. Coll. 559.

But yet, not trusting to the uncertain Charity of others, most persons strained to the utmost, and many most excessively, their fortunes considered, to leave some provision behind them, for that purpose: and most commonly by their last Wills, and Testaments, which were accounted sacred, and carrying an Obligation more than ordinary, for all persons concern'd to see them performed: and thereby, or by Acts executed in their life-time, it was not rare, for many men, though they had many Children to provide for, or many debts to pay, to *post-pone* all relations, and considerations to this concern of the Soul, and to appoint, and take Order for *Masses Satisfactory, Anniversaries, Obits, Requiems, Dirges, Placebo's, Trentalls, Lamps, Lights*, and other offices, to be performed daily, weekly, monethly, or yearly, as far as the summs destin'd would afford,

for the eaſe, and help of the Teſtator's Soul.

Maſſes. Maſſes ſatisfactory, were the Romiſh ſervice appointed to be ſaid, or ſung, at a certain time, or times, and at an appointed place, at ſuch an Altar, or in ſuch a Chappel, with ſpecial reference to, or remembrance of ſuch a Soul, or Souls, tormented in Purgatory.

Anniverſary. An *Anniverſary*, was the appointment, and performance of Prayers, at ſuch, or ſuch a time, once a year, for the ſouls of deceaſed perſons: Commonly upon the day of the death of the party who appointed it; and this in imitation of the old Anniverſary dayes, whereon the Martyrdom, or deaths of Saints were celebrated.

Obit. An *Obit*, was a funeral Office, performed for the dead, and for his Soul's health, at certain times, and place appointed.

Requiem. A *Requiem*, was on Office, or Maſs, commonly ſung for the dead, ſo called from thoſe words in it, *Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine.*

Dirge. A *Dirge*, *quaſi dirige*, was an office of the ſame nature, for Souls in Purgatory, ſo called from the firſt word of the firſt *Antiphone* in the Office, *Dirige*, &c.

Placebo. A *Placebo*, was another ſuch like Office, or Service, performed for the health, and good Eſtate of ſome Soul, or Souls, ſo called from the word *Placebo*, being the firſt word of the Office.

A

A *Trental*, from the *French Trente*, was a ſervice of thirty Maſſes, ſaid or ſung for the dead, or a ſervice performed thirty dayes after their death. Trental.

Lamps, and Lights, were by many ordered to be continually burning before ſome certain Altar, Image, or place, or over ſome Sepulcher, ſo hallowed, as conceived to afford ſome eaſe, or benefit to Souls in Purgatory. Lamps, Lights.

The revenues that were given, and ſetled, for the maintenance of theſe, and ſuch like devices, which were very conſiderable throughout the Kingdom, were by the Stat. 1 *Edward* the ſixth, *Cap.* 14. given to the King; and they, as vain, and Superſtitious inventions, quite nulled. Stat. 1 Ed. 6. Cap. 14.

What an eſteem was formerly had of the vertue, and efficacy of theſe *Maſſes*, &c. may partly appear by a memorable Record ſtill extant, *viz.* *Alianor* Conſort of King *Edward* the firſt, dying, the King ſent out a writ to all the religious Houſes, and Monks of *Cluny* in *England*, to ſing Maſſes, and make Prayers for her Soul, and to certifie him the number of the Maſſes they ſhould perform on that behalf, that proportionably he might ſhew his gratitude to them. Pat. 19 E. 1. m. 11. Litera ſupplicatoria de orando pro regina defuncta.

So, in the year 1290. *Dominus Thomas* (Prior of Chriſts Church in *Canterbury*) *conceſſit Domino Regi in feſta tranſlationis beati Edvardi Quinquaginta Pſalteria, Duo Millia* CCCL *Miſſas, pro animabus* Chron. W. Thorn. Coll. 1958.

bus Progenitorum ſuorum & Reginarum Angliæ, as an Extraordinary liberality, and ſpiritual Alms. As is related by *W. Thorn.*

Bundel. Brev An. 19 Ed. 1. in Turr. Lond. And about the ſame time alſo it was, that *Arnald Otho*, *Abbot* of *Condam*, ſent a certificate to the King, to inform him what Prayers, Maſſes, and Anniverſarys, he and his Monaſtery had ordered for the ſpeedy tranſlation of his deceaſed Queen to the heavenly joys.

From all this now may eaſily be apprehended the force of vitiated, and depraved Imaginations; when men's Intellectua's are firſt blinded with ignorance, and then led by Superſtition; being affrighted with uncouth relations of Apparitions, Miracles, and the horrours of an imaginary Purgatory: what will they not do, or undertake, to alleviate, and mitigate, *in tanto*, if not *in toto*, thoſe approaching torments? and for that purpoſe, ſuffer themſelves to be haled, and pulled, ſometimes one way by guides, as blind as themſelves; and ſometimes another, by treacherous, and dangerous deſigners. Yet in the darkeſt of theſe times, there wanted not ſome, that could diſcern that all was not right, and that they were gotten into a very uncertain, and dangerous road; and in as much danger from their guides, as the enemy which they would avoid. Some of theſe, in a more ſerious way, proteſting, and adviſing both againſt the Errour, and the danger of it, had

had their mouths ſoon ſtopp'd; when others more jocular, between jeſt, and earneſt, as it were, made bold with the corruptions, and abuſes of the times, witneſs the wits, and Satyriſts of their reſpective times *Rob.* of *Gloceſter*, *John Harding*, *Jeffrey Chaucer*, *John Gower*, *Rob. Longland*, alias *Piers Plowman*, *Lydgate*, and many more, whoſe dull rimes carryed a cutting ſence with them. Indeed though the Lathes of a Satyriſt ſeldom or never produce amendment of Epidemical vices, and Errors; yet in this they have their fruit, that thereby poſterity is oftentimes more truly informed of the manners, and genius of times, than by the profeſſed Hiſtorian, who rarely touches that ſtring: And by theſe, the abuſes, and cheats of Prieſts, Monks, and Fryers, in their Maſſes, Confeſſions, Shrifts, Penances, Pardons, Indulgences, Miracles, Reliques, *&c.* all ſerving to fill the people's brains with vain, and terrible apprehenſions, and to empty their purſes, were, according to the wit of their reſpective Ages, to the warning of this, notably, and ſmartly detected, arraigned, and condemned.

A multitude more of inſtances might be given, of the Chargeableneſs, and expenſiveneſs of Popery, whereby the People were daily abuſed, and impoveriſhed, to the inriching of others with their ſpoils, whoſe natural office, and duty was, to feed, and not to fleece the flock. Hence

hath

hath bin noted the ready tendency of degenerate Religion, when it throws off its ſpiritual temper, at the ſame time to graſp at Temporal Power, and Temporal Riches. How that Power was uſurp'd, we have in part ſeen in the firſt Tract: and how the Riches were ingroſs'd, we have endeavoured to make ſome diſcovery in this; and amongſt all the Arts uſed for that purpoſe, none proved more effectual, than this device of Purgatory: this was the fire that alwayes kept the Pope's Kitchin warm, and gave life to Indulgences, Pardons, Diſpenſations, Jubiles, Regular Foundations, Shrines, Maſſes, Confeſſions, *&c.*

I muſt confeſs I have ſometimes endeavour'd to underſtand the nature, and import of this Popiſh Purgatory; but could never yet meet with any ſatisfaction therein: And to ſay truth, the differences amongſt the Papiſts are ſo many, and irreconcileable, in all the points, and circumſtances which concern this Doctrine; that they ſerve ſufficiently, in ſtead of all other reaſons, and arguments, to confute it. Firſt, for the place, *Eckius* will have it to be in the bottom of the Sea: Some will have it in mount *Ætna*, *Veſuvius*, *Hecla*, *Andę*, or ſome ſuch other ignivomous Montgibels; and *Bernard de Buſtis* in an Hill of *Ireland*. Next, for the torments, Sir *Thomas More* will have them to be only by fire; but *Fiſher* his fellow-ſufferer by fire, and by

Eckius in Enchirid.

In Roſar. par. 3. Ca. 2.

by water: *Lorichius* neither by fire, nor water, but by the violent convulsions of Hope, and Fear. Then, for the Executioners, or Tormentors, these differ no less again; for Bishop *Fisher* will have them to be the Holy Angels, but Sir *Thomas More* to be the very Devils. Then, for the sins to be there expiated, some will have them to be the *Venial* only, and others say the Mortal too. And for the time of Souls continuance in that State, *Dennis* the *Carthusian* extends it to the end of the world; when *Dominicus à Soto* limits it to ten years; and others make it depend on the number of the Masses, and Offices, that shall be done on their behalf, or if the Pope do but speak the word. Lastly, for the extremity of the pains, *Aquinas* makes them as violent as those of Hell: But the *Rhemists* say, that the Souls there are in a very fine condition: And *Durandus*, between these extremes, gives them some intermission from those terrible pains, upon Sundayes, and Holydayes. *Beda* tells a long story of a *Northumberland* man, that after he dyed returned to life again, and gave a relation of the condition of those piteous Souls, *viz.* that he passed through the middle of a long, and large valley, that had two lakes in it, on either side one all along, both top-ful of Souls, constantly leaping out of one, into the other; in

Lorich. Instit. Cathol.

Vid. B. Jewels Defence part 2. cap. 16.

Dionys. Carthus. de 4. Noviss.

Rhem. Annot. in Apoc. 14. 13.

Durand. de Offic. mortuor. cap. 7.

Beda Eccles. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 13.

in the one of these lakes the Souls were tormented with Fire, and in the other with freezing cold, and when a Soul had bin so long in the hot lake, that it could endure no longer, it would skip out into the cold lake; and when it had layn so long there, as that became intolerable, it would leap back again into the fiery apartment: and so they continued continually tormented with that alternation of heat, and cold. But by all this uncertainty, or contrariety rather of opinions, it may clearly be seen, upon what weak foundations they have raised this building; which certainly would have fallen to the ground long ago, if it had not bin for the profit which the Popes, Priests, and Fryers have raised by the fiction.

And upon this one point of Popish Doctrine, *viz.* Purgatory, as I noted before, their Masses, Requiems, Dirges, Trentals, Prayers for the dead, the Doctrine of merits, works of Supererogation, Indulgences, Pardons, Jubiles, *&c.* do depend; all tending to bring into the heavenly Exchequer at *Rome*, where, by inversion of the Holy Scripture, *Gain* is great Godliness: and though St. *Peter* said, Silver, and Gold have I none, yet those which pretend to be his Successors, ingross to themselves the Treasures of the world: for to the support of that usurped Hierarchy, all Kings, with the People, were

were by these Arts forced to contribute, and to make surrendry of their Temporal Power, and Temporal Riches: And though the Pope, as the Head thereof, glutted himself with the cream of the Kingdom's wealth; yet all the other members, down to the very petty-toes, of that Romish Body, would be continually raking, and scraping for themselves; being as spunges to suck from the People; that they might afford sometimes to be squeezed by the Pope.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Frier's Case.

ONe way, specified before, of carrying great summs out of the Kingdom to *Rome*, was Appeals, and drawing a multitude of Causes to be heard, and determined in the Court of *Rome*: and though those were not always the most weighty, or difficult; yet, whatever the suggestion was, if introduced with money, the cause was receiv'd, and treated accordingly. And now, for a Conclusion, and that my Reader may as well be a little recreated, as informed what kind of causes were brought sometimes before his Holiness, and his Courts: I will give him a Report, or Relation of a certain case, transmitted thither, as it receiv'd a hearing, rehearing, and re-re-hearing, before it had its final Resolution in the Court of *Rome*; as depending there near upon Fifty years, before it was dismist.

Anti-mach. fo. 86, &c.

St. *Francis*, the Founder of the Order of Franciscan Friers, about the year 1198. amongst other Articles of his Rule, Ordained thus, That all that were of his Order, for Apparel, should cloath themselves with the basest, vilest, and of the lowest price that could

could be: That they ſhould only have one Coat, with a Hood, and another without a Hood: That they ſhould wear no ſhoos, nor ride on Horſeback. Now amongſt the Friers of this Order, there grew great differences, and diſputations, about the Interpretation of this one Article. To compoſe which, a General Chapter, or Convention was held, that the true meaning of the Article might be underſtood, and declared, and that all might ſort themſelves to one Habit, for ſome wore habits of one colour, and ſome of another: and ſome wore ſhort, and others long; inſomuch as they ſeemed not to be all of the ſame Rule, and Order.

In this Chapter, or Convention, there were notable diſputes, and arguments, upon all the points, or branches of this Article. But about the two laſt points they came to agreement without much difficulty: for ſeeing they were forbidden to ride on Horſeback, they reſolv'd to ride but on Aſſes, and Mules, or to go on foot, as now commonly they do; wherein they conſidered alſo the convenience of Aſſes, in regard they could keep them in their Covents at an eaſier charge than Horſes, for they would live very well without Provender. And for Shoos, they reſolved, that they would take away the upper leather, leaving a ſole only with a thong, to go over the foot, to make the ſole faſt to the foot, and ſo they ſhould not be Shoos, but Soles. But the great difficulty was about

the Coat, and Hood: And there were ſome cunning Friers, good at diviſion, who divided the firſt branch of the Article into three principal Points or Queſtions: The Firſt, about the Colour; The Second, about the Quantity; And the Third, about the form, or faſhion of the Coat, and Hood.

Firſt great Point.

To the Firſt, about the Colour, there were divers Opinions, and no accord could be amongſt them. For the glorious St. *Francis* had ſpoken nothing of the Colour in his Rule; but only ordained, that they of his Order ſhould wear Habits of a low price: and thereupon fell out a great Queſtion, *viz.* what Colour was of leaſt price, and would ſeem to be moſt vile. Some reaſoned thus, *Argum.* That the Green Colour was the cheapeſt, and vileſt; and that it was ordinarily ſeen, that people of the loweſt condition, as Carters, Mariners, and other mean people, wore that Colour in the linings of their Doublets, as the meaneſt of all; not forgetting the green Apron, generally worn by the plaineſt ſort of people, and never by the rich. They argued further, that the matter wherewith the Green Colour is made, is Cheaper, and readier at hand, than any other; for with Herbs, Leaves, and Graſs, the Green Colour may be made, both for Linnen, and for Wollen; Nay take a Maid, and lay her but along on the Graſs, and every one will ſay ſhe has a Green Gown.

But

But others were of Opinion, that the Murrey, or Smoky Colour, was viler, easier to be gotten, and cheaper, than the Green, or any other colour; for to make that colour, there need no more than to take white wool, and soot, and one need not go over the threshold for materials for that dye. *Ans.*

But then there were others of a Third Opinion, who thought themselves more certainly in the right, than either of the other Two; and these said that no colour was more easie to be had, viler, or more suitable to their Order, than that which came pure from the Beast's back, and that was Black, or White: And that it would correspond with St. *Francis* his mind, and design, that they should wear the Colour of the Beast, in token of Humility, and Patience: and further adding, that all other Colours cost something, if it were but labour, but the Colour of the Beast would cost nothing at all.

But to all this, they that were for Green, or Smokey Colours, replyed; That they who disputed for the Colour of the Beast shewed they had too much of the Beast in them; because their Conclusion was alternative, and indeterminative; for they concluded upon White, and Black, without resolving either upon the one, or the other; and that such a Conclusion implyed a contradiction; for, said they, nothing is more contrary, than Black, and White. Besides, *Reply.*

if they weared the Colour of the Sheep, it might give occaſion unto men, to cenſure them for being Wolves, in Sheep's cloathing. They urged alſo, that already other Mendicants had taken up thoſe two Colours, for the *Jacobins* wore White under, and Black above: and the *Carmelites* contrary, Black under, and White above: and that generally all other ſorts of Monks, which held the Rules of St. *Auguſtin*, St. *Bernard*, St. *Benet*, and others, were either Black, or White; and it might be eſteemed, either preſumption, incroachment, or uſurpation, to aſſume the Habits, or Colours of others; and therefore that would not be the way to draw unto them the Devotion of the World: And then theſe concluded, That if they ſhould take the Colour of Black, there were ſome Countreys where were no Black Sheep, as in *Berry*, *Limoges*, and *Languedoc*; in which Countrys they muſt be forced to dye their Wool, and that would make it dear, and, by conſequence, directly againſt the Rule of the bleſſed St. *Francis*; and how ſhould they pay for dying, when they are expreſly forbidden to handle any Silver? And then, if the Order ſhould chooſe the White Colour, there are other Countreys, where there are no White Sheep, or but few, as in *Tuſcany*, and other places; ſo that there the Friers muſt have their Cloaths out of far Countrys, which would be to their greater coſt, and directly alſo againſt their Rule, and Liberties: And therefore theſe concluded,

no

no Colours ſo fit, as the Green, or Smoaky.

But then, thoſe that were for the Colour of the Beaſt, rejoin'd, and ſaid, That that Opinion for Green, and that other for Smoaky Colours, were the moſt Savage, and Sordid opinions in the World, anſwerable to the Reaſon of thoſe as maintained it: for, ſaid they, Green is a Colour moſt fit for Fools, and Jackanapes's that are ordinarily ſeen in that Colour. And then, in Countrys, where they ſay there is none but Black Wool, how can they dye that into Green, or Smoaky? But, by this time the Conteſt grew very hot, which a ſhrewd old Frier obſerving, and ſuſpecting that this wrangling about Habits, would bring them to a habit of wrangling, and make a rent in the Order, ſtood up, and after ſilence commanded, he commended all thoſe that had ſo throughly, and learnedly debated the matter on both ſides: but ſeeing, ſaid he, the caſe is very weighty, and difficult, it ſeems to me to merit the Reſolution of our Holy Father the Pope, and that it ought to be referred to his determination: to which motion, for that time, they all aſſented. *Rejoin'd.*

After this, the Seniors of the Fraternity cauſed the ſecond Queſtion of the three to be propoſed, touching the quantity of their Habits, whether they ſhould be long, or ſhort; wide, or ſtrait. And to this, a number ſtood up, declaring their Opinion to be, That the Garments of their Order ought to be ſhort, *Second great Point.*

and ſtrait, and that for many reaſons, as
Argum. they alledged: For, ſaid they, Garments that are ſhort, and ſtrait, are more vile, and better cheap, than ſuch are, that be long, and large, becauſe they have not ſo much ſtuff in them: Therefore, ſince the Glorious St. *Francis*, our Founder, ordained we ſhould wear Habits vile, and of little price, we cannot better obſerve that Holy Rule, (wherein conſiſteth the eſtate of perfection) than in making our Habits as ſhort, and ſtrait as is poſſible. Beſides, ſaid they, our bleſſed Founder hath made us all Mendicants, to live on the Charities of good people, to gather which, we muſt be always travelling, and running about the Country; and therefore we cannot poſſibly be ſo nimble, in a long, and wide, as in a ſhort, and ſtrait garment.

Anſw. But then preſently another company ſteps up, and condemns this Opinion, as the moſt ſtrange, and ridiculous as might be: Becauſe, ſaid theſe, if Friers ſhould wear ſhort Habits, they would look more like Jockeys, and Millers, than Friers: and experience ſhews, that in ſome Countrys, where Friers uſed to wear ſhort Habits, the Order was preſently contemned, and derided, and men call'd them curtail'd Friers. Beſides, the very mind of St. *Francis*, in this, may ſomewhat be underſtood, becauſe in this Article he uſes the word Tunic, which ſeems to ſignifie a long Robe, or Garment. Moreover, long habits are more ſeemly for religious men,

and

and ſhort Habits for Lay-men. Further they ſaid that all other ſorts of Monks wore long, and wide Habits, and it would be a great blemiſh, as well as a Novelty, if the Order of the moſt glorious St. *Francis* ſhould take a ſhort Habit. And then, ſaid they, when we go into the Pulpit to Preach, or when we go to ſay Maſs, will it not be a rare ſight for us to go like Skipjacks, and Millers? Therefore theſe concluded, that their Habit ſhould be long, and large.

Notwithſtanding all this, the firſt Opinioniſts in this point Replyed, and ſaid, That the good St. *Francis* had taught them the way of Humility, and therefore they ſhould not wear long Garments, like Phariſees, to be reverenced in the World; for that taſted of Pride, and not of his Humility; and they which are deſpiſed of the world, are eſteemed of God, and ſo contrary. Then for the Notation of the word Tunic, they ſaid, that in the Rule of S. *Benet*, it ſignified not a long Robe, but a little Coat, or Caſſock, and ſo it is found in *Ambroſe Calepin*'s Dictionary (who was of our Order, ſaid they,) not a long Robe, but *Toga*, and that therefore the Letter of the Article made for them in that point. And as for what had been ſaid, that other Monks wear long, and wide; theſe ſaid it would be ſo much the better, that there might be a diſtinction between them, and others; and that they might not look like Lay-men in ſhort Habits, the *Reply.*

Hood would make a difference ſufficient for that purpoſe: and length of Garments alone would not diſtinguiſh them from the Lay-people, for many of them alſo wore long Robes, as Advocates, Councellors, Proctors, Phyſitians, and Merchants, and divers others: And though we may confeſs, ſaid they, that at the beginning, it poſſibly may ſeem a novelty, to wear ſhort, and ſtrait Garments, with a Hood; but time, and cuſtom will take away the ſtrangeneſs of it, for to all things there is a beginning. But, by this time the diſputes upon theſe points began to be very warm alſo: ſo that ſome of the old ſubtile Friers commanded ſilence again; and having given due commendations to the ingenuity, and nimbleneſs of the Diſputers on both ſides, they Reſolved to remit the reſolution of theſe high matters alſo to the great Oracle of the World, their H. Father at *Rome*.

Third great Point.

Then the Third Queſtion was ſtarted, touching the form, and faſhion of theſe Habits: and upon that it was put to the Queſtion, Whether their Habits ſhould be ſingle, or double: If they might be any whit fine, or not: If they ſhould have Collers, or none: If they ſhould uſe Points, or Buttons: If they ſhould have skirts, or none; Or ſleeves, or no ſleeves: Or, if ſleeves, whether the hanging ſleeves, or no: And upon this matter of ſleeves, ſome were for little ſleeves, becauſe the great ones would take up more ſtuff, and be dearer, and ſo

Argum.

contrary

contrary to their Rule: But then others that were for the great ſleeves, ſaid, they might ſerve them in ſtead of a ſcrip, or pouch; for the good St. *Francis* had commanded them to beg, and live upon Alms, and alſo had forbidden them to carry pouch, bag, or ſcrip, and it was neceſſary they ſhould have ſomething wherein to put their Alms. To Anſwer which, the others ſaid there might be another help, *viz.* to take a Man, or a Boy with them, (whom they might call a *Judas*) to carry a bag, or ſcrip, for that purpoſe, who alſo might take mony, if any gave it. But this project did not, in all reſpects, pleaſe the others; though as to the taking of money, they liked that well enough, but ſuch Boyes, and Men would be *Judas's* indeed, and ſteal, and purloin what was given; however if they ſhould be honeſt, they muſt be maintained, which would ſtrike a great ſtroke, and make a hole in their gains, and ſo the bread would be eaten out of the poor Fryer's mouths by theſe hang-by's. *Anſw.*

Then they came to debate the faſhion of their Hoods: And as to that, ſome were for flat, and cloſe Hoods, which they ſaid would betoken Humility; and would be warmer: But others were for the ſharp pointed Hood, which they ſaid would denote their ſharp, quick, and piercing Conceits, and how they aſpired upwards. And many allegations, and exceptions were made, and taken to all theſe, and *Argum.* *Anſw.*

divers

divers other the like points, which blew the Company into a great Combuſtion; which ſome of the more diſcreet amongſt them perceiving, and conſidering what bad ſucceſs they had in the diſputes upon the former Points, and that in theſe there was like to be no better harmony: they moved that the differences in theſe great Points alſo might be referred to the infallible Judgement of the Pope, holding it as expedient to ſend for a reſolution of three Queſtions, as of two; for ſaid they, when a fire is made, it is as cheap roaſting Three Chickens, as Two. And to this they all conſented.

Not long after, certain Delegates of the Order took their Journey to *Rome*, to Pope *Nicholas* the Third, about the year 1280. who convened all his Cardinals, that with them he might underſtand, and determine all theſe high, and ſubtile Points. And after long debate, and mature deliberation taken, upon all things alledged, and inſiſted on, in theſe matters; at length, with the advice of his Cardinals, the Pope made this Reſolution, *viz.* He ordained, and commanded, that in all thoſe Queſtions, that only ſhould be obſerved, which ſhould be concluded and determined in a Chapiter General, or elſe in Provincial Chapiters, or Conventions, which for that purpoſe ſhould be Congregated: Provided, that there might alwayes ſhine in the Fryers an holy Poverty, according to their holy Rule. Upon this, and for this pur-

purpoſe, many Chapiters were afterwards aſſembled: but all to no purpoſe at all, for therein they fell out, in as great heats, and differences, about all theſe difficult points, as ever they were before.

Then, about thirty years after, the Fraternity, by reaſon of the great diſſentions amongſt them, touching theſe matters, ſent Delegates to *Rome* again, to Pope *Clement* the fifth, who then held a Council at *Vienna*, *An. D.* 1311. giving the Pope to underſtand, How, according to the Ordinance of Pope *Nicholas*, the Chapters had done all they poſſibly could, to overcome the ſaid difficulties, but could not bring them to any tolerable concluſion; but that contrarily, the more the matters were debated, the more doubts, and difficulties alwayes did ariſe: therefore, as to the very Oracle of Truth, they wholly ſubmitted to him all their differences in the premiſes. Upon this the Pope, after hearing all that they alledg'd, and offered, touching the points in difference, with advice of the Prelates, Cardinals, Doctors, and others aſſembled in that Council, puts forth a true Oracle indeed, that is, nothing of certainty to the Queſtions propos'd to him: For his Reſolution was, That the Guardians, and the other chief Miniſters of the Order, ſhould judge of the vility, colour, length, wideneſs, and faſhion of their Habits: Commanding all the Fryers punctually to obſerve, and obey the Orders, and reſolu-

ſolutions of their Guardians, and Chiefs, without framing, or propoſing any more doubts, ſubtilties, or ſcruples. With all this, contained in a very fair Bull, the Delegates, and Agents returned home: And the Guardians, and Chiefs of the Order, in purſuance thereof, applyed themſelves to order, and ſettle theſe matters: But then, beſides the differences that aroſe amongſt themſelves, when ever they agreed on any thing, thoſe Fryers, againſt whoſe Opinion it was carryed, would quarrel inſolently at it, and would be ſo far from yielding conformity, that they did not ſpare to revile their Superiours, calling them Fools, and Dunces, for no better underſtanding the Text of St. *Francis* his Rule: And in this diſorder they continued a long time; untill

In the year 1323. in the time of Pope *John* the 22. who reſided at *Avignion*, the Guardians, and ſuperiours of the Order went to complain once more to his Holineſs, that the Fryers would not obey the Orders they had agreed upon by vertue of the Bull of Pope *Clement*; and humbly prayed his Holineſs further directions, and aid therein. Whereupon the Pope ſent Summons to all thoſe Fryers who refuſed to obey their Superior's Decrees in all thoſe controverted points, that they ſhould either perſonally, or by writing certifie the Reaſons of their obſtinacy: and when theſe were come in, the Pope aſſembled all his Cardinals in Con-

Conclave, where the Allegations for, and againſt the Fryer's diſobedience, were all canvaſſed, and debated at large, and many offers, and propoſals made for a final concluſion of all: but nothing of that nature was accepted, and no agreement there was like to be except, the Pope would juridically, and openly, and plainly give his Sentence in the caſe. And thereupon the Pope gave Order for his definitive Bull to be drawn up: wherein, in the firſt place, he highly extolled the Bulls of his Predeceſſors, the Popes *Nicholas*, and *Clement*, wondring why men ſhould decline the import, and tenor of them: and then for himſelf, he ordained, and declared, That the vilitie of Habits ſhould be meaſured by the cuſtom of every Country: and after gave power, and Commiſſion to the Guardians, and Superiors of the Order (as did Pope *Clement*) to make a Rule for the longitude, latitude, colour, thickneſs, faſhion, ſubſtance, and vility, as well of the *Tunics*, as the Hood; and upon all other circumſtances, accidents, and dependances upon the ſame: commanding all the Fryers to obey the Rules that ſhould be made, without any more Objections, Arguments, or Contradictions. But neither would this Third Bull do the buſineſs; for men eſteemed it, in effect, no more than what had bin order'd before, without any fruit. And ſo the heats, and diſputes continued amongſt the Fryers, as high as ever: Nay ſome ſpared not to re-

flect

flect on the Pope himſelf, ſaying, that he did not rightly underſtand the points in controverſie: Others, that he uſed too many Councellors, and that one honeſt *Tailor*, if the Pope could have found him, would better have inform'd how to ſtitch up theſe rents, than the whole Conclave: and the greateſt Scandal was, that if the Pope, the *Vice-deus*, the Oracle of Truth, the unerring Head, the infallible Guide, could not ſettle, and put an end to differences of ſuch inferiour nature; how could he (did many ſay) infallibly judge, and determine in matters of Faith, and the more ſublime points of Religion, about which there were ſuch differences in the world?

But at laſt theſe heats amongſt the Fryers were ſomewhat allayed, and cool'd with time: and the generality of the Order betook themſelves to the White, and Black Colours, as they come purely from the Beaſt, and thence the denomination to the white, and black Fryers: and ſome of them intermingled the two Colours, and made a third, and from them came the Grey Fryers. And for the Garments, and Hoods, they came to wear them long, and large: only the difference about the Sleeves was never yet accorded, for ſome wear ſtrait, and little Sleeves; and others wear large, and wide, for ſome conveniences, and of this ſort was that Fryer, who when he was Preaching againſt ſtealing, had all the time a Gooſe in his

his Sleeve. And thus, though their Infallible Judge could not, or would not, put an end to these differences amongst his own Creatures, with all his *Decretals*, and *Extravagants*, as those Bulls were called; yet at this time we shall here to them all put a

FINIS.

An

An Eſſay of the Supremacy of the King of *England*, within his Majeſty's Realms, and Dominions.

IN our view of the reſplendent Majeſty of our Soveraign Lord, the King of *England*, it muſt needs fare with us, as with a curious eye, that looks on the Sun in its full luſter; thereby diſcovering its own weakneſs, ſooner than the nature of that Glorious Body: being dazell'd, if it gaze too long; and ſcorched, if it approach too near ſuch a refulgent, and diſproportion'd Object. And therefore, that I may proceed with Truth, and ſafety, in this affair, I muſt make uſe of the Inſtruments of Law, and the skreen of Authorities, to direct, and defend me, in my intended progreſs therein.

Excellens objectum deſtruit ſenſum.

In the firſt place therefore, we are to know, That the King of *England* hath two capacities in him: *viz.* One as a natural Body, being deſcended of the Blood Royal of this Realm: and this Body is of the ſame

Plowd. Comment. ſeig. Barkly's Caſe. fo. 234. Id. Caſe de Duchy. fo. 213.

nature with his Subjects, and ſubject to Infirmity, Death, and the like. The other as a Politick Body, or Capacity; ſo called, becauſe it is framed by the Policy of man: and in this Capacity the King is eſteemed to be Immortal, not ſubject to Infirmity, Death, Nonage, *&c.* And therefore, when a King of *England* dyes, the Lawyers have a peculiar way of expreſſing the ſame, not ſaying the Death of the King, but the King's demiſe. And therefore, in reſpect of this Politick Capacity, it is often ſaid, That the King of *England* never dyes: and by the Law of *England* there can be no *Interregnum*; for upon the King's *Demiſe*, his lawful Succeſſor is, *ipſo facto*, King, without any eſſential Ceremony, or Act, *ex poſt facto*, to be done: For the coronation is but a Royal ornament, and ſolemnization of the Royal Deſcent, but no part of the Title. And all this may be collected from the Reſolutions of all the Judges, in the caſe of *Watſon*, and *Clark*, *Seminary* Prieſts, who, with others, entered into Treaſon againſt King *James*, before his coronation. So King *Henry* the ſixth, was not crowned untill the eighth year of his Raign, and yet ſeveral men, before his Coronation, were Attaint of Treaſon, and Felony, as by the Records thereof it doth appear.

Demiſe le Roy.

Calvin's Caſe. fo. 10, 11.

Hill. An. 1 Jac. Cok. Pl. Corn. 7.

The Reaſons, and cauſes, wherefore, by the Policy of the Law, the King of *England* is thus a Body Politick, are three. *viz.*

Firſt, *Cauſa Majeſtatis*, The King cannot

cannot give, or take, but by matter of Record: and that in regard of the Dignity of his Person. Calvin's Case. fo. 12.

Secondly, *Causa Necessitatis*; as in case to avoyd the Attainder of him that hath Right to the Crown: As if the right Heir to the Crown be Attaint of High Treason, yet shall the Crown descend to him, and, *eo instanti*, when it happens, without any other reversal, the Attainder is purged; as it fell out in the Case of King *Henry* 7. lest, in the *interim*, there should be an *Interregnum*, which the Law of *England* will not suffer, any more than nature doth a *Vacuum*. As also by vertue of this Politick Capacity, though the King be within Age, yet he may make Leases, and Grants; and the same shall be valid: for otherwise his revenue would decay; and the King would not be able to reward service, *&c.* 1 Hen. 7. fo. 4. b.

Thirdly, *Causa Utilitatis*; As when Lands, and Tenements, or Possessions descend from his collateral Ancestors, being Subjects, as suppose from the Earl of *March*, &c. to the King; the King is seised, or possessed of them, *jure Coronæ*, in his Politick Capacity, and they shall go with the Crown. And in this Capacity it was, that Queen *Elizabeth* had, and injoyed all that belonged to Queen *Mary*, though they were but Sisters of the half Blood, which no others could do. And as the Crown of *England* is Descendible to the Heirs males, yet when a King dies, and leaves no Son,

but Daughters only, the Crown, and Dignity Royal, descends to the Kings eldest Daughter alone, and to her Posterity: and so it hath bin declared by a Parliament: for *Regnum non est divisibile.* And there shall be no *Possessio fratris* of the Lands of the Crown: for the quality of the Person doth in these, and many other likes cases, alter the descent. So as all the Lands, and Possessions, whereof the King is seised, or possessed, *jure coronæ*, shall attend upon and follow the Crown, unto whomsoever it shall Descend: for the Crown, and the Possessions of the same, are *concomitantia.*

Star. 25 Hen. 8. cap. 22.

The naturall Body of the King being thus invested with his Politick, and Royal Capacity, we behold him as the Representative, and Lieutenant of God Almighty, who is King of Kings. All Power is from God; and *Imperium non nisi Divino fato datur:* And therefore *Plato* did say, That God did not appoint, and establish men, that is, men of a common sort, and sufficiency, and purely Humane, to rule and govern others, (cautiously to be understood) but such as by some Divine touch, singular vertue, and gift of Heaven, do excel others: and therefore they are called *Heroes*, and stand in Comparison with others, as we may conceive of the Air, which if we do compare with the Heavens, it is a kind of Earth; but if we compare it with the Earth, it is then a kind of Heaven. So of King's, if we compare them with God Al-

Almighty, they are but a kind of men; but if we compare them with other men, they are a kind of gods: both intimated in that of the Psalmist, *I have said ye are gods, but ye shall dye like men.*

This Royal majesty of the King of *England* is repleniſhed with plenary, and undoubted Right, and Authority to rule, and govern all his Subjects; and that in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical, as Temporal. For this Kingdom of *England* is a Soveraign Empire or Monarchy conſiſting of one Head; the Soveraign, or King; and of a Body Politick, the People: and this Body is diſtinguiſhed into the Clergy, and the Laity: all of them intirely Subject to their Royal Head, the King: who, as before is ſaid, is furniſhed, and inſtituted with an intire Authority over every Subject, of what degree, or quality ſoever: and that in all cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, and Temporal: For otherwiſe the King would be imperfect in his Authority, contrary to the true notion of Soveraignty; and thereby diſabled to deliver Juſtice in all cauſes, to all his Subjects, or to puniſh all crimes, and offences within his Dominions: a conſideration of high import, for the neceſſary ſecurity both of Prince, and People.

But notwithſtanding the full, and Soveraign Right of the King, to rule and govern all his Subjects, and that in all cauſes: and conſequently the juſt, and neceſſary duty of all his Subjects to yield a full, and intire

Obedience to all the Kings good Laws: (for it is the Law that measures out, and spiriteth the King's Authority; as it directs, and enforces the Subject's Obedience) yet so it hath bin, and so it is, in our Antinomian times, partly by the obstinacy, and devotedness of some; the weakness, and ignorance of others; and the peevishness, and perverseness of many; that there is a multitude of natural born Subjects in this Kingdom, who, in defiance of the Laws, both in their Opinions, and Practices, deny, or oppose our Soveraigns Supremacy.

On the one hand, there are the Sectaries; who, notwithstanding the Law is the Standard of true Allegiance, make the ground, the rule, and measures of their Allegiance, to be their own private fancies: And though the Law is the bright Sun, shining in the Horizon of this Kingdom, by the Light whereof every one ought to guide his actions; yet these men out-stare this Sun, and giddily run, some of them after the *Ignis fatuus* of a pretended Light within them: some after the false fires of a misguided zeal: too many after the *Boutfeaus* or male-content Incendiaries: and some after the very fumes of Hypochondriacal fits, mistaken for visions, and Revelations.

On the other hand, there are the *Devoto's* of *Rome*; who in contempt of the King's Laws, and Authority, make the rules, and measures of their Allegiance to be the will, and pleasure of a Forrainer. As the Sectaries

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ſet up a Pope in every man's Conſcience, (whilſt they inveſt it with a power to controul the Decrees of Princes) and new Lights for themſelves to live, and walk by; theſe, contrarily, put out their own Eyes, and give themſelves up to be led by an infallible Head, as they think; to whom whilſt they yield a blind Obedience, they cannot ſee to be good Subjects. Theſe men, of both ſorts, ſtrike at our Supremacy, the very foundation, and heart-ſtring of Government; and by whom the very Sinews of Soveraignty are cut aſunder; when either upon the ſuggeſtions of fanatical deluſions, or the imperious awes of an extraneous Power, the King's natural Subjects ſhall audaciouſly lift up their Hands, and Heels againſt him.

My Province, at this time, to wave all diſputes, ſhall only be to make ſome diſcovery of thoſe Foundations of Law, Right, and Authority, whereon our King's Supremacy is built, by the Legal, and unqueſtionable Hiſtorical Evidences, and Manifeſto's of the ſame: and whilſt I keep cloſe there, I ſhall be ſure to be on a ſafe bottom. I ſhall not pretend to wade into the vaſt Ocean of the King's Prerogative, in all its extenſions, but ſhall confine my ſelf to the affair of the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical matters; without profeſſing yet a ſtature to reach the top of this ſublime, or the bottom of this profound concern.

In the firſt place then, we are to know, that the King's juſt, and lawful Authority

in Ecclesiastical matters, is in part declared by a statute made in the first year of Queen *Elizabeth*: And it was one of the Resolutions of the Judges, in *Cawdry's* Case, That the said Act of the First year of the Queen, concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, was not a Statute introductory of a new Law, but Declaratory of the Old. But for our purpose, it will be sufficient to transcribe the Preamble of the Act; which runs thus: Most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty, your faithful and obedient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and the Commons in this your present Parliament assembled, that where in time of the raign of your most dear Father of worthy memory King *Henry* 8. divers good Laws, and Statutes were made, as well for the better extinguishment and putting away of all usurped and forrain powers, and authorities out of this your Realm, and other your Highness Dominions and Countrys, as also for the * restoring and uniting to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, the ancient Jurisdictions, authorities, Superiorities, and preheminences to the same of right belonging; by reason whereof, we your most humble and obedient Subjects, from the 25. year of the raign of your said dear Father, were continually kept in good order, and were disburdened of divers great, and intolerable charges, before that time unlawfully taken and exacted by such forrain power and authoritie as before that was usurped,

Stat. 1 Eliz. Ca. 1. Non novam introduxit, sed antiquam declaravit. Coke 5. Rep. Cawdrys Case. fo. 8.

* Nota.

uſurped, until ſuch time as all the ſaid good laws, and Statutes by one Act of Parliament made in the firſt and ſecond years of the raigns of the late King *Philip*, and Queen *Mary* your Highneſs Siſter, Intituled, An Act repealing all Statutes, Articles, and Proviſions made againſt the See Apoſtolick of *Rome*, ſince the 20th. year of King *Henry* 8. and alſo for the eſtabliſhment of all Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions and hereditaments conveyed to the Laity, were all clearly repealed and made void: as by the ſame Act of repeal more at large appears. By reaſon of which Act of repeal, your ſaid humble Subjects were eſt-ſoons brought again under an uſurped forrain power and authority, and yet do remain in that bondage, to the intolerable charges of your loving Subjects, if ſome redreſs (by the Authority of this your High Court of Parliament with the aſſent of your Highneſs) be not had and provided. May it therefore pleaſe your Highneſs, for the repreſſing of the ſaid uſurped forrain power, and the reſtoring of the Rights, Juriſdictions, and preheminences appertaining to the Imperial Crown of this your Realm, that it may be Enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, *&c.* And then it proceeds to Repeal the ſaid Act of *Philip*, and *Mary*; and revives the former Statutes of King *Hen.* 8. and King *Edw.* 6. aboliſheth all uſurped forrain powers, and authorities; and reſtoreth and uniteth all Juriſdictions, Priviledges,

ledges, Superiorites, and Preheminences Spiritual, and Eccleſiaſtical to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

This Statute doing Right to the Queen, and her Succeſſors; ever ſince, as in Temporal Cauſes, the Kings of *England*, by the mouths of their Judges, in the Courts of Juſtice, have judged, and determined the ſame, by the Temporal Laws of *England*: So in all Eccleſiaſtical, and ſpiritual Cauſes, (as Blaſphemy, Apoſtaſie from Chriſtianity, Hereſie, Schiſme, Ordering Admiſſions, and Inſtitution of Clarks, Celebration of Divine ſervice, Rites of Matrimony, Divorces, Baſtardy, Subſtraction and Right of Tiths, Oblations, Obventions, Dilapidations, Reparation of Churches, Probate of Wills and Teſtaments, Adminiſtrations, and Accounts upon the ſame, *Simony*, Fornication, Inceſt, Adulteries, Sollicitation of Chaſtity, Appeals in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, Commutation of Penance, Penſions, Procurations, *&c.*) the Conuſans of all which belongs not to the Common Law; but the determination, and deciſion of the ſame, hath been by Eccleſiaſtical Judges, according to the King's Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this his Realm.

Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes Stat. de circumſpecte agatis. 13 Edw. 1. Articuli Cleri. 9 Edw. 2. Fitzh. Nat. Bre. 41, 42, 43, &c.

And although the ſaid Stat. 1 *Eliz.* declares how, and by whom, the King may appoint the ſame to be done; yet (as is intimated before) the King by Law may do the ſame, although that Statute had not bin made: And hence it was, that *Stephen Gardiner*,

diner, the noted Bishop of *Wincheſter*, in his Oration *De vera Obedientia*, once ſaid, That by the Parliaments ſtiling of King *Hen.* 8. Head of the Church, it was no new invented matter wrought; only their mind was to have the power pertaining to a Prince by God's law to be more clearly expreſſed by this Emphatical compellation. And certainly this was the ground of that anſwer, which King *James* gave to the Non-conforming Divines, at the conference at *Hampton* Court, upon the ſeven and thirtieth Article of the Church of *England*; the ſaid Divines urging, that theſe words in the Article, *viz.* The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Authority in this land, were not ſufficient, unleſs it was added, nor ought to have: To which the King, being ſomewhat moved, roundly replyed, What ſpeak you of the Pope's authority here? *Habemus jure quod habemus*, and therefore, in as much as it is ſaid, He hath not, it is plain and certain enough that he ought not to have.

Significantiori vocabulo competentem Principi jure Divino poteſtatem expremi clarius voluerunt.

Conſer. at Hamp. Court fo. 37.

Nor is this Authority united to the Crown of *England* only, but of right alſo to all other Chriſtian Crowns; and accordingly avowed by all other Chriſtian Princes. And to this purpoſe I could multiply the Suffrages of many antient Fathers, and Doctors of the Church, but my aim being rather at matter of fact, I will forbear the particularizing the explicite Judgements, and Declarations of thoſe Devout, and juſt men, who were as careful, in its degree, and proportion

portion to give unto *Cæsar*, the things that are *Cæsar's*, as to God, the things that are God's. But for the matter of practice; And in the first place here I cannot but take notice, That in the first Ages of Christianity, Religion did not only subsist, but spread by immediate influence from Heaven only; but when by vertue of the same influence it had once prevailed, and triumphed over all oppositions of *Pagan* superstition, and persecution, aud subdued the Emperours themselves, and became the Imperial Religion; then Ecclesiastical Authority assumed, and fixed it self in its natural and proper place; and the excercise of its Jurisdiction (and what that was I shall shew also) was restored to the Imperial *Diadem:* and *Constantine* was no sooner setled in his Imperial Throne, but he took the settlement of all Ecclesiastical matters into his care and cognisans: He call'd *Synods*, and Councils, and ratified their Canons into Laws: He routed the Conventicles of the Donatists: made Edicts concerning Festivals, the Rites of Sepulture, the immunities of Churches, the Authority of Bishops, the Priviledges of the Clergy, with divers other things relating to the outward Politie of the Church: In which affair he was carefully followed by his Successors, as evidently may appear to all conversant in the Civil Law. And the aforesaid *Stephen Gardiner*, in that his notable Oration of true Obedience, makes instance in the *Roman* Emperour *Justinian*, who,

who, with the approbation of all the world, at that time, ſet forth thoſe Laws of the moſt Bleſſed Trinity, the Catholique Faith, of Biſhops, and Clergy-men, and the like. The like alſo appears by the moſt famous *Partidas*, ſet forth by *Ferdinando* the Saint, and his Son *Alphonſo*, for the antient Kingdoms of *Caſtile*, *Toledo*, *Leon*, and others of *Spain*, celebrated in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtories. Correſpondent to which alſo hath bin the practice of the Kingdom of *France*, whoſe Kings have ever been eſteemed, in ſome ſence, the Heads of their Church: and this is the reaſon, that the opening their moſt ancient Counci's, under the firſt, and ſecond (the *Merovingian*, and *Caroline*) line, was ever by the power, and authority, and ſometimes the preſidency of their Kings, and Princes: It being a noted ſaying in one of their Councils, *Cognoſcant Principes Seculi ſe Deo debere rationem propter Eccleſiam quam à Deo tuendam accipiunt.* And according to this Doctrine, are all thoſe Capitulars, or mix'd laws, for matters of Church, or State, of *Charls* the *Great*, *Ludovicus Pius*, *Lewis le Gros*, *Pepin*, and others, collected by the *French* Antiquaries. And at this day generally, amongſt the Lawyers, and moſt learned of the *French* Nation, it is held, and declared, That the Biſhop of *Rome* was anciently the Firſt, and chiefeſt Biſhop, according to the dignity of of Precedency, and order: not by any Divine inſtitution, but becauſe *Rome* was the chief

Juſtiniani factum, qui leges edidit de Trinitate, de fide Catholica &c. Steph. Winr. Orat. fo. 19.

Lew. Turquet Hiſt. of Spain.

Counci'. Parisien. 6. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Cod. Leg. Antiq. Gall. f. 827. Lindenbrog.

Vid. le Review de le Council de Trent. Bore'. lib. 4. de Decret. Eccl. Gal.

chief City of the Empire. That he obtained this Primacy over the Western Church by the grace, and gift of *Pepin*, *Charls* the Great, and other Kings of *France*: And that he hath no power to dispose of temporal things. That it belongs to Christian Kings, and Princes to call Ecclesiastical *Synods*; to establish their Decrees; to make wholesome Laws, for the government of the Church; and to punish and reform abuses therein. That the Laws whereby their Church is to be governed, are only the Canons of the more ancient Councils, and their own National Constitutions, and not the Extravagants, and Decretals of the Bishop, or Court of *Rome*. That the Council of *Constance*, assembled by *Sigismund* the Emperour, with a concurrent consent of other Christian Princes, Decreeing a General Synod, or Council, to be Superior to the Pope, and correcting many abuses in the *Roman* Church, which yet remain in practice, was a true Oecumenical Council; as also was the Council of *Basil*. That the Assembly of *Trent* was no lawful Council, and the Canons thereof rather to be esteemed the Decrees of the Popes, who call'd, and continued it, than the Decrees of the Council it self; and that in regard the number of Bishops there met was but small, bearing no proportion to the import of a General Council; as also the greatest part of those present were *Italian*, and Vassals to the Pope; and nothing there resolved on, but what was before

before determined at *Rome*; which then occasion'd this infamous by-word, That the Holy Ghost was carryed in Cloak-bags, every Post, from *Rome* to *Trent*. That the Sacrament of the Lords Supper ought to be administred under both kinds: and that, at the least, a great part of Divine Service ought to be performed in the vulgar Tongue. Thus far the *French*, and

Many the like instances might here be added to the same purpose: but yet, under favour, all Crowns Imperial must give place, in regard of this one Flower, or Jewel of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to the Crown of *England:* For as the first Christian King, that ever the world saw, is recorded to have been of this Island, the renowned *Lucius*; so is he intimated to be the first that ever exercised Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, being directed thereunto by Pope *Eleutherius*, to fetch his Laws, by the advice of his Council, out of the Old, and New Testament, and by the same to Govern his Kingdom, wherein he was God's Vicar. According to which advice, the Brittish, Saxon, Danish, and first Kings of the Normans, have governed their Churches, and Church-men, as may appear by the Laws by them for that purpose made, and lately exhibited to the publick by Mr. *Lambard*, Mr. *Selden*, Dr. *Powell*, and others. Neither can any Ecclesiastical Canons, for Government of the English Church be produced, till long after the conquest, which were not either originally promulged, or

First Christian King

Reigned Ann. 180

V d. Eleuth. Epist.

Archaionom. Analect. Angl. Brit. li. 1, 2. Hist. Cambr. fo. 59. Jo. Brompton. &c.

or afterwards allowed, either by the Monarch, or some King of the Heptarchy, sitting, or directing in the National, or Provincial Synod. Nay, in the after usurping times, there is to be seen the Transcript of a Record *An.* 3 *Hen.* 2. wherein when the Bishop of *Chicheſter* opposed some Canons against the Kings exemption of the Abby of *Battel* from Episcopal Jurisdiction; the King in anger replyed, *Tu pro Papæ authoritate ab hominibus conceſſa, contra dignitatum Regalium authoritates mihi à Deo conceſſas, calliditate arguta niti præcogitas?* Dost thou go about, by subtilty of Wit, to oppose the Pope's authority, granted by the connivence of men, against the authority of my Regal Dignity, given by God himself? And thereupon requires reason, and justice against the Bishop for his insolence. And thus it is most easily demonstrable, that the Kings of *England* have had these Flowers of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction planted in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, even from the very beginning of the Christian Monarchy in this Island; where we hope they have now taken such root, that neither any Fanatick whispers at home, nor the roaring of any Romish Bulls from abroad, will ever be able to shake, or blast the same. And from hence was the Resolution of our Judges (mentioned before) in the Case of *Cawdry*, that the said Statute made in the first year of the Queen, concerning Eccleſiastical Jurisdiction, was not introductory of a new Law, but Declaratory of

Manuſ. Chronic. Abb. de Bello.

Vide the like Charter of exemption to the Abbot of Abbindon, by Kenulphus, in Staunf. pl. Cor. l. 2. fo. 111. b. 1 Hen. 7. fo. 23, 25.

Cook 5. Rep. De Jure Reg. Eccl.

of the old; which appears as well by the Title of the said Act, as by the Body of it, in divers places: for that *Stat.* doth not annex any Jurisdiction to the Crown, but that which in truth was, or of right ought to be, by the ancient Laws of this Realm, parcel of the Kings Jurisdiction.

An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state Ecclesiastical and spiritual. 1 Eliz. 1.

Now it is not unknown how from the root, as it were, of this inherent Authority grow the several Branches of the same; As that he hath the supream Right of Patronage over all *England*, and all Ecclesiastical Benefices within the same: so that if the immediate Patron present not a Clark in due time, nor the Ordinary, nor Metropolitan, the Right of Presentation devolves on the King, and there rests. He only hath the Patronage of all Bishopricks, and none can be chosen but by his *Conge d' Eslier*, and whom he nominates: none can be consecrated Bishop, or take possession of the Revenues of the Bishoprick, without a special Writ, or Assent from the King. The King only calls National, or Provincial Synods; and by his Commissioners, or Metropolitans, gives life to Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, relating to the Government, and Ceremonies of the Church; for reformation, and correction of Heresies, Schismes, Contempts, *&c.* The King hath Power to pardon the violation of Ecclesiastical Laws, to dispence with the rigour of them; and to regulate all Ecclesiastical Persons, as that a Bastard may be made a Priest; That a Priest may hold

Επίσκοπος & Επισκόπων.

Nullum tempus occurrit Regi.

Halls Case. Coke 5 Rep.

11 Hen. 7. 12. a.

more Benefices than one; That he may succeed his Father; That he may be non-Resident, &c. And for his Superintendency over the whole Church, the King hath the First-Fruits, and Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Benefices. And from him lyes no Appeal to any forrain Jurisdiction whatsoever.

Neither is it unknown what strange incroachments, and usurpations have been made upon the fundamental Right of our Kings, by the Popes, and Court of *Rome*; and again how strenuously, in all times, it hath been asserted, and vindicated, by the Kings, and People of *England*: the Papal Dominion rising, and falling here, according to the quality of the Times, and the measures of resistance which it met withall. And evident is it also, by what means this forrain Dominion came to be owned here: for in the Empire the Bishops of *Rome* usurp'd one half of the Imperial Power, and annexed the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and Supremacy to their own See: for taking advantage of the publick distractions occasion'd partly by the incursions of the Barbarians on the North, and East parts; and chiefly by the divisions of the Empire it self, and by some opportunities of serving some weak, and vicious Emperours in their unworthy purposes, they gain'd at last, by force, or fraud, the whole Dominion of Religion to themselves: and by pretending to the Spirit of Infallibility, they usurp'd an absolute Empire over the Faiths, and Consciences of men:

men: which yet they could not maintain without the continual disdained affronts to the Princes of Christendom; the last whereof reduced under this yoke were the Kings of this Island; and for which there were not Arts enough wanting; As by making a bad use of innocent, and good meanings, and improving the humility of others for an advantageous step whereon to mount it self: For when Religion came to a consistency here, the Bishop of *Rome* was greatly reverenced by the Christians of this Island, as one that was the Primate of one of the then most glorious Churches in the World, Patriarch of the West, and residing in a City famous for Arts, and Learning, and the seat of the Empire: And then the fame of this eminent Bishop (*crescens eundo*, and *majora credi de absentibus*, as *Tacitus* speaks) acquired a mighty reverence for him in these remoter parts: though the devout Brittains, who received more probably their first conversion from *Asia*, applyed themselves chiefly to *Judæa*, as a place of the greatest sanctity; yet amongst the *Saxons*, for the reasons aforesaid, *Romam adire magnæ virtutis æstimabatur*, as *Ven. Beda* hath it: But as this was of their part, no other than as to a great Doctor, or Prelate, from whose countenance, and assistance they hoped for great advantages; so those Instructions they received from *Rome*, were not as coming from one that had Dominion over their Faith; the one side not at all giving, nor the other assuming

Tacit. Hist. lib. 2.

Beda Hist. l. 4. cap. 23.

more respect, than what was decent, and fit, out of Charity, Reverence, and Christian affection, each unto the other. And therefore observable is it, in that famous transaction of the Kingdom of *France*, about the deposing of *Childerick*, and setting up *Pepin* in his room; which some have contended to have been done by the Pope's Authority; The Truth is, *Childerick* was set aside by the Peers of *France*, for a Fool, or Frantick; and *Pepin* stepping up, applyed himself to the then Pope *Zachary*, to confirm, not to confer his new obtained Kingdom: for in those days they gave no such power, neither did Pope *Zachary* claim it. Only that such an extraordinary action might carry the better face in the world, it was thought requisite to have the suffrage of so grave an Oracle: and therefore *Baronius* confesses, and that you will will say is much, *Francos non Zachariæ paruisse decreto, sed acquieviſſe consilio:* and there is great difference between an Authoritative Injunction, and a Prudential Advice, which is only an Answer out of discretion, and left to discretion, and so can imply no obligation at all. And *Sabellicus* relates it thus, That the Peers of *France* deposed *Childerick*, and set up *Pepin* in his stead, *Romano Pontifice consulto*; whence this Gloss upon one of their Laws, *Papa deposuit, id est, deponentibus consensit.* But enough of this.

Platina in vita Zach. r. Spondan. in eod.

Mente stupidus, & vitâ ignavus. Paul. Æmil.

Baron. Annal.

Sabell. Ennead. 8 lib. 8.

But certain it is, that by one way or other, the Papal Dominion arrived to a great height in

in the World, and particularly in this Island, in after times; and then the former addresses of the Christians of this Island to the Bishop of *Rome* were made use of, as notes, and evidences of subjection: and what had passed by the Popes advice, and Counsel only, was afterward said to have been done by his Authority: And so the ordering, and determining of Ecclesiastical affairs was endeavoured to be drawn to a forraign Judicature, to the apparent prejudice, and diminution, as well of the Rights of the Crown, as of this Church. And therefore in this case it fared with our Ancestors, as with her in the Tragedy,

Quisquis in primo obstitit
Repulitq; amorem, tutus ac victor fuit.
Qui blandiendo dulce nutrivit malum,
Sero recusat ferre, quod subiit, jugum.

Senec Trag. Hippolyt.

But notwithstanding the infinite subtle arts, and mighty efforts for that purpose, the Papacy found it, at any time, a most difficult thing, to carry any thing here by a high hand, and to bring the Ecclesiastical State of this Nation to depend on *Rome*. For our Princes never did doubt, but they had the same Authority within their own Dominions, as *Constantine* had in the Empire; and our Bishops the same as St. *Peter*'s Successors in the Church: *Ego Constantini, Vos Petri gladium habetis in manibus*, said King *Edgar*, in an eminent Speech unto his Clergy. And what Power in the Church our Kings

Ailred. Rival. Coll. 361. 16.

took themselves anciently to have, appears by their Laws, and Edicts, published by themselves, and acknowledged by their subjects: All speaking thus; That the ordering, and disposition of all Ecclesiastical Affairs, within their own Dominions, was their sole, and undoubted Right, the Foundation thereof being that Power which the Divine wisdom hath invested the Secular Magistrate withal, for the defence, and preservation of his Church, and People, against all attempts whatsoever. And all our Laws, and Lawyers concurring in this, *That the King of* England *is subject to no Power on Earth, but to God only:* and in King *Edwards* Laws he is called *Vicarius summi Regis*; as also in *Bracton*; that being the *Cognomen*, as it were, given by Pope *Eleutherius*, long ago to King *Lucius* here; as not being under the power of any other. And this in effect acknowledged by the whole Body of the English Clergy, in a Letter of the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, to *Tho. Becket*, *An. D.* 1167. as it stands recorded at large by *Roger Hoveden*.

Leg. Edv. confess cap. 17. fo. 142. Leg. Canut. & Inæ, apud. Jornal. Mat. Paris. A. 2.

Rex sub nullo nisi tantum sub Deo. Bracton. Leg. Sanct. Edw. cap. 19. 17.

Rog. Hoveden in Hen. 2. p. post. fo. 510.

To this it will be but seasonable, and pertinent, to add the Historical Instances, and evidences, some of them, as occurr, demonstrating, as the continual claim, and when they could, the exercise of this Right, by the Kings of this Island; so the worthy resistances as, from time to time, have been made against all forraign usurpations, and incroachments upon the same: sufficient to shew, that our Princes did not command

the

the Eccleſiaſticks here, who made up ſo great a part of their ſubjects, according to the will, and pleaſure of any forrain Potentate; nor that they were only lookers on, whileſt others governed the Engliſh Church. Therefore we may obſerve,

All Councils, and Convocations, aſſembled at the King's appointment, and by the King's Writt, *Jubente, & præſente Rege*, as one ſays: and that upon the ſame Authority, as the Emperour *Conſtantine* had long before aſſembled the Council of *Nice*. Eadmer. fo. 25. 5. 11. Florent. Wigorn. An. 1070. fo. 434. Stat. 25 H. 8. 19.

Some appointed by the King to ſit in thoſe Councils, and ſuperviſe their actions, *ne ibi contra regiam coronam, & dignitatem aliquid ſtatuere attentarent*. And *Mat. Paris* gives us the names of the Commiſſioners, for that purpoſe, in one of the Councils held in the time of King *Hen.* 3. And when any did otherwiſe, he was forced to retract ſuch Conſtitutions, as did *Peckham*: or they were but, *in paucis ſervatæ*, as were thoſe of *Boniface*, as *Lyndwood* ingenuouſly doth acknowledge. Matt. Paris ad An. 1237. fo. 447. Lyndw de foro competent. cap. 1.

No Synodical Decree ſuffered to be of force, but by the King's allowance, and confirmation. *In hoc concilio, ad emendationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, aſſenſu Domini Regis, & primorum omnium regni, hæc ſubſcripta promulgata ſunt capitula*, as *Gervaſius Dorobern.* informs us. Eadmer. fo. 6. 29. Gervas. Dorobern. An. 1175. fo. 1429. Mat. Paris. Hen. Huntingd. Eadm. paſſim. Pat. 8 & 9 Johan. R. m. 5. 8.

No *Legate* ſuffered to enter into *England*, but by the King's leave; and ſwearing to do nothing prejudicial to the King, and his Crown.

Eadmer. 115. 23. All matters of Episcopacy determined by the King himself, *inconsulto Romano Pontifice.*

No Appeals to *Rome* permitted.

Thorn. Coll. 2152. Coke 3. Instit. cap. 54. to. 127. Hoveden. Hen. 2. fo. 496. None to receive Letters from the Pope, without shewing them to the King, who caused all words prejudicial to him, or his Crown, to be renounced, and dis-avowed by the bringers, or receivers of such Letters.

Eadmer. fo. 6. 31. Permitted no Bishops to Excommunicate, or inflict any Ecclesiastical censure on any Peer, *nisi ejus præcepto.*

Addit. Mat. Paris. fo. 200 Caused the Bishops to appear in their Courts, to give account why they excommunicated a subject.

Florent. Wigorn. An. 1070. fo 536. Bestowed Bishopricks on such as they approved, and translated Bishops from one See to another.

Godwin de Præs. Ang'. Erected new Bishopricks: So did King *Hen.* 1. *An.* 1109. *Ely*, taking it out of *Lincoln: Carlile* 1133. out of *York*, or rather *Durham.*

Coke 2. Instit. 625. Commanded by Writ, the Bishops to Residency.

Addit. Mat. Paris. fo. 200. nu. 6. Placed, by a Lay hand, Clerks in Prebendary, or Parochial Churches, *Ordinarios penitus irrequisitis*; as it is phrased in *Matt. Paris.*

By these, and many other instances of the like nature, exercised by our Kings, it appears that the English ever took the outward Policy of this Church, or Government of it, *in foro exteriori*, to depend on the King.

And

And therefore the writs of Summoning all Parliaments expreſs the calling of them to be, *Pro quibuſdam arduis, urgentibus negotiis, nos, ſtatum, & defenſionem Regni noſtri Angliæ, & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ concernentibus*, &c.

In the Reign of King *Edward* the firſt, A ſubject brought in a Bull of Excommunication againſt another ſubject of this Realm, and publiſhed it to the Lord Treaſurer of *England*: and this was, by the ancient Common Law of *England*, adjudged Treaſon againſt the King, his Crown, and Dignity; for which the Offendor ſhould have bin drawn, and hang'd; but at the great inſtance of the Chancellor, and Treaſurer, he only abjur'd the Realm. Bro. k. Tit. Præmunire. pl. 10.

King *Edw.* preſented his Clark to a Benefice, within the Province of *York*, who was refuſed by the Arch-biſhop, for that the Pope, by way of Proviſion, had conferred it on another. The King thereupon brought a *Quare non admiſit*: the Archbiſhop to it Pleaded, that the Biſhop of *Rome* had long time before Provided to the ſaid Church, as one having Supream Authority in that caſe; and that he durſt not, nor had power to put him out, who was poſſeſſed by the Pope's Bull. But for this high contempt, againſt the King, his Crown, and Dignity, in refuſing to execute his Soveraign's commands, againſt the Pope's Proviſion, by Judgement of the Common Law, the Lands of his whole Biſhoprick were ſeized into the King's Trin. 19 Ed. 3. Fitzh. Quare non admiſit. pl. 7.

King's hands, and loſt during his life. And this Judgement was before any Act of Parliament made in that caſe. And there it is ſaid, That for the like offence, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had bin in worſe caſe, by the Judgement of the Sages in the Law, if the King had not extended favour to him.

Nota.

Although by the Ordinance of *Circumſpecte agatis*, made in the thirteenth year of King *Edward* the firſt, and by a general allowance, and uſage, the Eccleſiaſtical Court held Plea of Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Mortuaries, Redemption of Penance, Laying of violent hands on a Clark, Defamations, &c. yet did not the Clergy think themſelves aſſured, nor quiet from Prohibitions purchaſed by ſubjects, till King *Edward* the ſecond, by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal, in and by conſent of Parliament, upon Petition of the Clergy, had granted them Juriſdiction in thoſe caſes.

Coke 5 Rep. Caſe de jure R. Eccl.

Stat. 9 Edw. 2. Artic. cler. ca. 16.

An Excommunication by the Archbiſhop, although it be diſannulled by the Pope, or Legate, is to be allowed. Neither may the Judges give any allowance of any ſuch ſentence of the Pope or his Legate. And it hath often bin adjudg'd, and declared, That the Pope's Excommunication is of no force in *England*.

Finzh. Excom. 4. 16 Ed. 3. Brook Excom. pl. 5. 14 H. 4.

30 Ed 3 Lib. Aſſiz. pl. 19. 12 Ed. 4. 16.

It is often Reſolved in our Books, that all the Biſhopricks in *England* were founded by the King's Progenitors, and the Advowſons

vowsons of them all belong to the King; and at first they were * Donative. And that if an Incumbent of any Church with cure dyes, if the Patron Present not within six months, the Bishop of that Diocess ought to collate, that the cure be supply'd: if he neglect by the space of six moneths, the Metropolitan of that Diocess shall confer one unto that Church: and if he also neglect six moneths, then the Law gives to the King, as Supreame, within his own Kingdom, and not to the Pope, power to provide a Pastor.

* Per traditionem annuli, & pastoralis baculi.

The King may not only exempt any Eccleſiastical Person from the Jurisdiction of the Ordinary, but may grant unto him Episcopal Jurisdiction: as it appears the King had done of antient time to the Archdeacon of *Richmond*. And the *Abbot* of *Bury* was exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction by the King's Charter.

17 Ed 3. 13. 20 Ed. 3.

The King Presented to a Benefice, and his Presentee was disturbed by one that had obtained Bulls from *Rome*; for which offence he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

21 Ed. 3. 40.

If Excommunication be the final end of any suit in the Court of *Rome*, as indeed it is, and be not allowed, or allowable in *England*, as it hath often bin Declared; It then follows, that by the Ancient Common Law of *England*, no suit for any cause, though it be spiritual, arising within this Realm, may or can be determined in the Court

Fitzh. Nat. Br. fo. 64. f.

Court of *Rome*; *Quia frustra expectatur eventus, cujus effectus nullus sequitur.*

Stat. 25 Ed. 3. de Provisorib. At a Parliament held *An.* 25 *Edward* the third, It was Enacted, That as well they that obtained Provisions from *Rome*, as they that put them in execution, should be out of the King's Protection: and that they should be dealt withal, as the King's Enemies, and no man so dealing with them should be impeached for the same.

Stat. 16 Ric. 2. cap. 5. At a Parliament held *An.* 16 *Ric.* 2. It is declar'd, That the Crown of *England* hath bin so free at all times, that it hath bin in subjection to none, but immediately subject to God, and none other, and that the same ought not in any thing, touching the Regality of the said Crown, to be submitted to the Bishop of *Rome*: nor the Laws, and Statutes of this Realm by him frustrated, or defeated at his Will. And the Commons in that Parliament affirmed, that the things attempted by the Bishop of *Rome*, be clearly against the King's Crown and his Regality, used and approved in time of all his Progenitors, in which points the said Commons professed to live, and dye: and to all which the Lords assented also, as being thereto bound by their Allegiances.

2 Hen. 4 fo. 9. It is resolved that the Pope's Collector, though he have the Pope's Bull for that purpose, hath no Authority within this Realm. And there it is said, That the Archbishops, and Bishops of this Realm are the King's spiritual Judges. And in another place it is said,

said, *Papa non poteſt mutare Leges Angliæ: Per Curiam.* 11 Hen. 4. fo. 37.

In the raign of King *Henry* the ſixth, the Pope wrote Letters in derogation of the King, and his Regality; and the Church-men durſt not ſpeak any thing againſt them: But *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester*, for their ſafe keeping, put them into the fire. 1 Hen. 7. fo. 10. Humphrey Duke of Glouc.

In the raign of King *Edward* the fourth, the Pope granted to the *Prior* of St. *John's*, to have Sanctuary in his *Priory*: and this was pleaded, and claim'd by the *Prior*: but reſolved by the Judges, That the Pope had no power to grant any Sanctuary within this Realm: and therefore the ſame was diſallowed by Judgement of Law. 1 Hen. 7. fo. 20. Keilway Reports. 8 H. 8. fo. 191. b.

In *Brook Tit. Preſentation al Eſgliſe*, It is affirmed, That the Pope was permitted to do certain things within this Realm by uſurpation, and not of right, untill the Raign of King *Kenry* the eighth, *quod nota*, ſayes the Book. And in what eſteem the Pope's Authority here was in that King's time, may ſufficiently be collected from the Tenor, and Purview of the Statutes, about that affair, in his raign made. Bro. Preſent. al Eſgliſe. p. 12. Stat. 24 Hen. 8. ca. 12. 25 H. 8. 21.

In the raign of King *Kenry* the ſixth, *Henry Beaufort* Uncle to the King, being Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was made Cardinal, and thereupon purchaſed from the Pope a Bull Declaratory, that he might ſtill hold his Biſhoprick: yet it was held, and adjudged, that the See of *Wincheſter* was become void, by the aſſumption of the Cardinal-

4 Hen. 6. in Arch. Turr. Lond.

dinalſhip; and therefore the Cardinal fallen into a Præmunire, for which he was glad to purchaſe his pardon, as by the Records of all this it doth appear.

Dier 12 Eliz.

It was Adjudged in the Court of Common Pleas, by Sir *James Dyer*, *Weſton*, and the whole Court, That a Dean, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, may reſign, as divers did to King *Edward* the ſixth, for that he had the Authority of the Supream Ordinary.

Vid. Grendon. in Plowd. Com.

With all this may be noted alſo, the ſeveral Statutes heretofore made againſt the uſurpations of the Biſhops of *Rome* in this Kingdom, the principal whereof theſe, *viz.* Stat. 25 *Ed.* 3. *de Proviſorib.* Stat. 27 & 28 Ed. 3. Cap. 1, 2. Stat. 38 Ed. 3. Cap. 3. Stat. 16 *Ric.* 2. Cap. 5. Stat. 2 *Hen.* 4. Cap. 3. Stat. 6 *Hen.* 4. Cap. 1. Stat. 7 *Hen.* 7. Cap. 6. Stat. 3 *Hen.* 5. Cap. 4. Stat. 1 *Hen.* 7. Cap. 4. Stat. 24 *Hen.* 8. Cap. 12. Stat. 25 *Hen.* 8. Cap. 21. Stat. 1 *Eliz.* Cap. 1. *&c.* By all which, with the foregoing Reſolutions, and Preſidents, to which a multitude more, to the ſame purpoſe, might be added, it doth appear clearly, that long before the time of King *Hen.* 8. divers Statutes, and Laws were made, and declared againſt forrain incroachments upon the Rights of the Crown in this matter; and thoſe as ſharp, and ſevere, as any Statutes, for that purpoſe, have been made in later times, though then both King, Lords, and Commons, that

Statutes of Provisors, and Premunire.

that made those Laws, and the Judges that did interpret them, did for the most part follow the same Opinions in Religion, which were held, and taught in the Church of *Rome*. And therefore those that will lay upon this Nation the imputation of Schism, for denying the Pope's Supremacy here, must charge it many Ages before the time of King *Henry* the eighth, For the Kings, Lords, and Commons of this Realm, have ever been most eminent for asserting their just Rights, and Liberties; disdaining to become a Tributary Province, as it were, to the See of *Rome*; or part of St. *Peter*'s earthly Patrimony in *Demesn*. And the Faith, and Loyalty of the English race hath bin generally such, (though true it is, that every Age hath brought forth some singular monsters of disloyalty) as no pretence of zeal, or Religion could ever draw the greater part of the Subjects for to submit themselves to a forrain Yoke; no not when Popery was in greatest height, and exaltation; of all which the aforesaid Statutes are manifest Evidences, being generally made at the Prayer of the Commons, as by their Preambles may appear, most worthy to be read: Particularly, in the Preamble to the Statute of 16 *Ric.* 2. They complain, That by Bulls, and Processes from *Rome*, the King is deprived of that Jurisdiction which belongs of right to his Imperial Crown: That the King doth lose the service, and Counsel of his Prelates, and learned men

Vid. Case de Premunire: in Sr. John Davys Rep.

Sta. 16 Ric. 2. cap. 5.

by

by translations made by the Bishop of *Rome*: That the King's Laws are defeated at his will, the Treasure of the Realm is exhausted, and exported to inrich his Court: And that by those means the Crown of *England*, which hath ever bin free, and subject unto none, but immediately unto God, should be submitted unto the Bishop of *Rome*, to the utter destruction of the King, and the whole Realm, which God defend, say they: and thereupon out of their zeal, and loyalty, they offer to live, and dye with the King, in defence of the liberties of the Crown: And then they pray the King to examine all the Lords in Parliament, what they thought of these wrongs, and usurpations, and whether they would stand with the King in defence of his Royal liberties; which being done, the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, did all answer that these usurpations of the Bishop of *Rome* were against the liberties of the Crown, and that they were all bound by their Allegiance to stand with the King, and to maintain his Honour, and Prerogative.

Upon producing, and averrement of all this, it is requisite some satisfaction be given about the conclusion, that hapned so different to these premises. For, if the Kings, and People of *England* have in all times been so sensible of, and zealous for their just Rights, how could the *Roman* Power, in derogation of those Rights, arrive to such a consistence, and height, as here it was for many

many years? To this, as to the means, and manner of that acquist, to keep within our Historical compass; First let it be premised, as undoubtedly true, That before the time of the *Norman* Conquest, the Bishops of *Rome* had very little, or nothing to do here, as well in matter of Fact, as of Right: For before that time the Pope's Writ did not run in *England:* His Bulls of Excommunication, and Provision came not hither: no Citations, or Appeals were made from hence to the Court of *Rome:* Our Archbishops did not purchase their Palls there: Neither had the Pope the Investiture of any of our Bishopricks: And *Ingulphus*, who lived in the Conquerours time, a Favourite, and one preferred by him, thus informs, *A multis namque annis retroactis nulla Electio Prælatorum erat libera mere & Canonica, sed omnes dignitates tam Episcoporum quam Abbatum per annulum & baculum regis curia pro sua Complacentia conferebat.* For as it is observable, that under the Temporal Empire of *Rome*, *Brittain* was one of the last Provinces that was won, and one of the first that was lost again: So under the Spiritual Empire of the Pope, *England* was one of the last Countrys of Christendom, that received the Yoke, and one of the first that cast it off. But for our purpose, that the Bishops of *Rome* had any Jurisdiction, or Hierarchical Authority in the times of the *Brittains*, *Saxons*, or *Danes*, there is an *altum silentium* in all

Ingulph. Hist. fo. 901.

our Histories, and Records: For the times
Eleuth. Epist. of the *Brittains*, *Eleutherius* Pope, about 180 years after Christ, writes to *Lucius* the *Brittish* King, and stiles him God's Vicar within his own Kingdom; and sure he wou'd not have given that Title to the King, if himself, under pretence of being God's Vicar-General on Earth, had claimed Jurisdiction over all Christian Kingdoms.

Beda Eccl. Hist. Matt. Westm. Polychron. Fab. Huntingd. &c. After that, about the year 600. *Austin* the Monk was sent by Pope *Gregory* into *England*, to convert the *Saxons* to the Christian Faith: But the *Brittish* Bishops, then residing in *Wales*, gave no regard either to his Commission, or his Doctrines, as not owing any duty to, or dependence upon *Rome*; but still retained their Ceremonies, and Traditions which they received from the East Church, upon the first plantation of Christianity, being both divers, and contrary to those of the Church of *Rome*, which *Austin* did indeavour to impose upon them. Then about the year 660 there is a famous disputation celebrated between one *Colman*, and one *Wilfrid*, touching the Observation of Easter, wherein the *Brittains* differed from the practice of the *Roman* Church; from which is plainly inferrable, that the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* was, at that time, of no estimation in this *Island*: And that the Primitive Churches of *Brittain* were instituted according to the form of the East, and not of the West Church. Nay upon the first coming of *Austin*,

Usser. de Prim. Eccl. Brit.

Austin, and his retinue into *Brittain*, there was such a strangeness, and averseness to him, that one *Daganus*, a *British*, or *Scottish* Bishop, happening into their Company, he would neither eat with them, nor under the same roof where they were; as *Mellitus*, *Laurentius*, and *Justus* complained in an Epistle of theirs to the *Scots* Bishops. Beda Eccl. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 4 Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. fo. 129.

For the *Saxons*, though King *Ina*, or some other, gave the *Peter-pence*, partly as Alms, and partly in recompence of a house erected in *Rome* for entertainment of English Pilgrims: Yet it is certain that *Alfred*, *Athelstan*, *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Canutus*, *Edward* the Confessor so called, and divers other Kings of the *Saxon* race, gave all the Bishopricks of *England*, *per annulum*, *& baculum*, without any other Ceremony, or any application to *Rome*; as was usual by the Emperour, the *French* King, and other Christian Princes so to do: as also in all their Laws for the Government of the Church here, they consulted only with their own Clergy, without any regard to the Authority of *Rome*. But under the *Norman* Conquest the *Papal* usurpation march'd in: for as the Conquerour came in with the Pope's *Banner*; So either by the way of complemental gratitude, or surprize, the Pope presently layd hold upon part of the purchase, as boasting all was gain'd by his aid, and blessing. And thereupon he sent two Legats into *England*, favourably received by the *Norman*, by whom a Synod of the Clergy Larga Regis Benignitas.

Commencement of the Papal Usurpation

Will. Malm. de geſt. Pontif. Angl. lib. 1. fo. 204. Rog. Hoveden pa. prior. fo. 453.

was convened, and old *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* depoſed, becauſe he had not purchaſed his *Pall* in the Court of *Rome*: and many other Biſhops, and Abbots diſplaced, on ſuppoſal, for the like reaſons, of the invalidity of their Titles, but ſpeciouſly to place the *Normans* in their rooms, or rather ultimately to introduce the *Papal* authority in caſes of the Church. Amongſt theſe is to be noted, that the King having earneſtly moved the old Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Wulſtan*, to give up his Staff; his anſwer was, that he would only give it up to him of whom he firſt receiv'd the ſame; and ſo the old man went to St. *Edwards* Tombe, and there offer'd up his Staff, and Ring, with theſe words, *Of thee, O holy* Edward, *I received my Staff, and Ring, and to thee I now Surrender the ſame again*; not acknowledging any authority in the Pope, or in any other on his behalf, to receive, or diſpoſe them, as *Matthew Paris* relates the ſtory at large. And though the Conqueror did thus Complement the Pope, in the admiſſion of his Legates, and ſome other ſmall matters, yet how far he really ſubmitted himſelf appears by an Epiſtle to *Gregory* the ſeventh, by him wrote, thus, *Excellentiſſimo S. Eccl. Paſtori Gregorio, Gratia Dei Anglorum Rex, & Dux Normannorum Willielmus, Salutem cum amicitia: Hubertus tuus Legatus ad me veniens, ex tua parte me admonuit, ut tibi & ſucceſſoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, & de pecunia*

Matt. Paris Hiſt. in Will. 2. fo. 20.

pecunia quam anteceſſores mei ad Romanam Eccleſiam mittere ſolebant, melius cogitarem, unum admiſi, alterum non admiſi, fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo, quia nec ego promiſi, nec anteſſores meos anteceſſoribus tuis id feciſſe comperio. Pecunia tribus fere annis, in Gallia me agente, negligenter collecta eſt, nunc vero divina miſericordia me in regnum meum reverſo, quod collectum eſt per præfatum Legatum mittetur, & quod reliquum eſt per Legatos Lanfranci Archiep. fidelis noſtri, cum opportunum fuerit, tranſmittetur, &c.

But in the time of his next ſucceſſor K. *Will. Rufus*, a further attempt was made, that is, to draw Appeals to the Court of *Rome*: and that appears in the noted tranſactions with *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, at large reported in our ſtories. And afterwards, in the time of King *Henry* the firſt, another ſtep was made, *viz.* to gain to the Pope the Patronage, and Donations of Biſhopricks, and other Benefices Eccleſiaſtical: at which the King taking courage, writes roundly to the Pope, thus, *Notum habeat Sanctitas veſtra, quod me vivente (Deo auxiliante) dignitates & uſus regni noſtri non minuentur, & ſi ego (quod abſit) in tanta me directione ponerem, magnates mei, imo totius Angliæ populus id nullo modo pateretur.* Hiſt. Jorvall. Coll. Notwithſtanding which, upon the regreſs, or reſtoring of *Anſelme*, and ſome difficulties that preſſed the King, in reference to his elder Bro-

Matt. Paris in Hen. 1. fo. 63.

ther *Robert*, in a Synod held by *Anselme* at *London*, in the year 1107. a Decree passed, *Cui annuit Rex Henricus, & statuit*, as *Matthew Paris* saith, *ut ab eo tempore in reliquum nunquam per donationem baculi pastoralis, vel annuli quisquam de Episcopatu vel Abbatia per Regem vel quamlibet laicam manum investiretur in Anglia.*

Sr. H. Spelm. Concil. Tom. 2. fo. 28.

But yet with this clause of *salvo*, *Suis tantum juribus regalibus sepositis & exceptis*, as appears in the Exemplification of the Acts of that Synod, by the learned Collector of our English Councils. In recompence whereof the Pope, that there might be *quid pro quo*, yielded to the King, that thenceforth no Legate should be sent into *England*, without the King's leave, and that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for the time being, should be, for ever, *Legatus natus*, and for the honour of the See, it was obtained, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should in all General Councils sit at the Pope's foot, *tanquam alterius orbis Papa*. But this agreement was soon broken, on both sides, the Pope sending his Legates, and the King resuming the Investiture of Bishops, as the same Historian relates, in divers instances.

Matt. Paris, fo. 65.

In the next troublesome raign of King *Stephen*, it was won clearly, that Appeals should be made to the Court of *Rome*; established in a Synod at *London*, held by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Pope's Legat; for before that time, *In Anglia namque Appellationes, in usu non erant* (as un unquestiona-

Spelm. Concil. Tom 2. fo 44.

ſtionable Hiſtorian hath it) *donec eas Henricus Wintonienſis, dum Legatus eſſet, malo ſuo crudeliter intruſit: in eodem namque Concilio ad Romani Pontificis audientiam ter appellatus eſt.* Hen Huntingdon. lib. 8. fo 395.

And in the raign of King *Henry* the ſecond, began the claime, and uſage of exempting Clarks from the ſecular Power, whatever their crimes were. And from this root ſprang the famous contention between this King, and his Archbiſhop *Thomas Becket*; together with the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, for the rectifying that abuſe; at large to be read, and obſerved in the Hiſtorians of thoſe times.

To all this it will be but pertinent to ſubjoine ſome brief diſquiſition touching the Canon Law, how, and by whom compiled, and when introduced into this Iland; under which, where admitted, no ſmall part of the *Papal* authority was neatly, and artificially drawn in. For which purpoſe we muſt know, that after the Power of the Biſhops of *Rome* came to ſome conſiſtency in the world, and the Pope began to look upon himſelf as a ſpiritual Prince, or Monarch, he preſently began to attempt to give Laws to Nations, and People, as a badge of his Soveraignty: but then well knowing, That *ubi non eſt condendi authoritas, ibi non eſt parendi neceſſitas*, he would not impoſe thoſe Laws, at firſt, peremptorily upon all People, but offered them *timide*, and *precario*, and in ſuch places where

he presumed they would find the freest reception: and in order to this, at first, he caused certain Rules to be collected for the Order, and Government of the Clergy only, which he called *Decreta*, and not Laws, or *Statuta*; and these *Decrees*, as they were called, were first published in the year 1150 in the raign of our King *Stephen*: and whereas Sr. *Edward Coke*, in the Preface to the eighth Report, sayes that *Roger Bacon*, the learned Fryer, saith in his Book *de impedimentis Sapientiæ*, That King *Stephen* forbad by publick edict, that no man should retain the Laws of *Italy*, then brought into *England*: we may, with some assurance, intend it of these *Decrees*, about that time compil'd, and publish'd. And these were received, and observed by the Clergy of the Western Churches only, for those of the Eastern Churches would never admit these Rules, or Canons.

Sr Ed. Coke Pref. al 8. Relat.

Keilways Rep. 7 Hen. 8. fo. 184.

Afterwards the Bishops of *Rome* attempted to bring the Laity also under the obedience of these Canons; and for that purpose, they first began with Rules, or Canons about abstinence, and dayes of Fasting, to be observed by the Laity, as well as Clergy, which at the first institution, were termed by that mild word *Rogationes*; and thence the week of Fasting before the Feast of *Pentecost*, came to be called *Rogation* week, in regard this time of Abstinence was at first appointed by an Ordinance called *Rogatio*, and not *Præceptum*, or *Statutum*.

Marsil. Pat. lib. Defens. Pac. pa. 2. c. 23 Durard. Rat. Di. l. 4. c. 6, 7.

When

When the Laity had ſwallowed this Ordinance of Faſting, then, *De una præſumptione ad aliam tranſvit Romanus Pontifex*, as *Marſil. Pata.* hath it; that is, the Biſhop of *Rome* proceeded to make, and publiſh ſeveral other orders, by the name of *Decretals*, and theſe were publiſhed about the year 1230, and made, or propoſed to bind all the Laity, as well Princes, as their Subjects, in ſeveral matters relating to their Civil, and Temporal concerns; As, That no Lay-man ſhould have the Donation of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices: That no Lay man ſhould marry within certain degrees, out of the degrees limited by the Levitical Law: That all Infants born before Eſpouſals, ſhould after Eſpouſals be adjudged Legitimate, and capable to inherit: That all Clarks ſhould be exempt from the Secular Power; and divers more ſuch like.

An. 14 Hen 3. Mat. Paris in Hen. 3. f. 417.

But then we muſt know, that theſe *Decretals*, ſo made, were not intirely, and abſolutely receiv'd in all parts of Chriſtendom, but only, at firſt, in the Temporal Territory of the Pope, which, on that account, is call'd by the Canoniſts, *Patria Obedientiæ*, but wholly rejected in *England*, *France*, and other Chriſtian Countreys, which thence are ſometimes called *Patriæ conſuetudinariæ*, as reſolving to adhere to their old Laws, and Cuſtoms: As the Canon that prohibits Donation of Benefices *per Laicam manum*, was always diſobeyed in *England*, *France*, the Realm of *Naples*, and divers other Countrys. The Canon to legitimate Infants born before mar-

marriage, was ſpecially rejected in *England*, when in the Parliament held at *Merton*,

Stat. de Merton. An. 20 Hen. 3.

Omnes Comites & Barones una voce reſponderunt, Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari, quæ hucuſq; uſitatæ ſunt, &c.

Keilway 7 H. 8. fo. 181. b.

The Canon that exempted Clerks from the Secular Power was never obſerved fully in any part of Chriſtendom: Infallible arguments, that theſe Canons received not the force of Laws from the Court of *Rome*, as if that had power to give Laws to all Nations without their reſpective conſents; but the approbation, and uſage of the People received them as they pleaſed, partially, and ſpecially, as to Places, Times, and parts of thoſe Canons; and for the ſame reaſon that ſome rejected one, others did more, and ſome all of them; as *Bodin* ſays, That the Kings of *France*, upon erecting of their Univerſities there, declare in their Charters, that the Profeſſion of the Civil, and Canon Laws, may there be receiv'd and uſed according to diſcretion, but not to bind as Laws.

Bodin. de Repub lib. 1. cap. 8.

Now when the Biſhop of *Rome* perceived that many of his Canons were embraced in ſeveral Countreys; under colour thereof he claim'd Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within thoſe Realms, with power to interpret, and diſpence with his own Canons; and for that purpoſe ſent his Legates about, with Commiſſions to hear and determine cauſes according to thoſe Laws; which, upon their firſt exhibition, as is before noted, he durſt not call Laws, or *Statuta*, *ne committeret crimen læſæ*

Marſil. Pat. ut ſupr. pa. 2. c. 23.

læsæ Majestatis in Principes, as *Marsil. Patav.* observes; who further says, that these Canons, inasmuch as they were made by the Pope, *neque sunt humanæ leges, neque divinæ, sed documenta quædam, & narrationes.* But, as is said, when he perceiv'd they were allowed, and used, in part, or in whole, in divers Countreys, they were revised, digested, and compil'd into Volumes, and called *Jus Canonicum*; and being appointed to be read, and expounded in publick Schools, and Universities, they were commanded to be obeyed by all under pain of Excommunication, with declaration of the Pope's power to interpret, abrogate, or dispence with them at his pleasure; and thereupon the Canonists say, *Papa in omnibus pure positivis, & in quibusdam ad jus Divinum pertinentibus dispensare potest, quia dicitur omnia jura habere in scrinio pectoris sui, quantum ad interpretationem, & dispensationem.* Lib. 6. de Const. cap. Licet.

In the 25th year of King *Ed.* 1. one *Simon*, a Monk of *Walden* began first to read the Canon Law in the University of *Cambridge*: and the year after it began to be read also in the University of *Oxford*, in the Church of the *Friers Prædicants*; and from that time got ground in *England*, being sometimes admitted, and sometimes rejected, according to the Ebb, or Flow, of the Papal interest here: but how really this Canon Law was an innovation, and usurpation here, it is sufficient but to peruse the Preamble An Dom. 1297 Tho. Walling. & Stow, in hoc anno.

to

Stat. 25 Hen. 8. cap. 21. to the Statute of Faculties, and Dispensations, made in the raign of King *Hen.* 8. to which the Reader is referred.

As another Branch of the Pope's power, in the matters aforesaid, we may observe that this clause, or words (*non obstante*) was first invented, and used in the Court of *Rome*; whereupon *Marsil. Petrav.* pronounces a dreadful *Væ* against that Court, for introducing this clause of (*non obstante*) as being a bad president, and mischievous to all the People of Christendom: for when the Temporal Princes perceived the Pope to dispence with his own Canons, they made no scruple to imitate him, and dispence with their Penal Laws and Statutes: and hereupon one Canonist said thus, *Dispensatio est vulnus, quod vulnerat jus commune*: and another thus, That all abuses would be reform'd, if these two words, *viz. non obstante*, did not hinder. And *Matt. Paris*, reciting several Decrees made in the Council of *Lions*, beneficial to the Church, says thus, *Sed omnia hæc, & alia per hoc repagulum, non obstante, infirmantur.* But now to return.

Vid. le Case de Penal. stat. in Coke 7. Rep.

Mat. Paris in An. 1245.

We have seen how by several steps, and gradations it was, after the Norman Conquest, that the Court of *Rome* usurp'd upon the Crown of *England*, in four main points of Jurisdiction, under four of our Kings, (not immediately succeeding, for of King *Will. Rufus* the Pope could gain nothing:) *viz.* 1. Upon the Conquerour, by sending Legats, or Commissioners, to hear, and determine

mine Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and other purpoſes. 2. Upon King *Hen.* 1. the Donation, and Inveſtiture of Biſhopricks, and other Benefices. 3. Upon King *Stephen*, in drawing of Appeals to the Court of *Rome*. 4. Upon King *Hen.* 2. in the exemption of Clerks from the ſecular Power: all rivetted, and clinch'd by the new Decrees, and Canons, which were continually multiplyed, and obtruded here; and all this, notwithſtanding the generous reſiſtances, which, at ſeveral times, were made to all.

Neither would all this ſatisfie, till an entire ſurrender of the Crown it ſelf was obtain'd from King *John*, re-granted him again, to hold in *Fee-Farm* and *Vaſſallage* of the Court of *Rome*: For it was both before, in, and after this King's time, that by the boldneſs, and activity of ſtrangers, and treachery, or puſillanimity of ſubjects, co-operating with the weakneſſes, and neceſſities of Princes, the Papacy arrived to that height, as to domineer in a moſt intolerable way, both over the Purſe, the Conſcience, the Regality, and all the moſt weighty concernments of the Nation.

Now, to redreſs all this, ſome unequal reſiſtances were at divers times made: King *Hen.* 3. was totally born down, and his Kingdom, and ſubjects reduced to utter poverty, and ſlavery by this uſurpation. Vid. Mat. Paris in H. 3. in toto.

After him comes the noble King *Edw.* 1. who truly may be ſtiled *Vindex Libertatis Anglicanæ*: at his Father's death he was abroad

abroad in the Holy Land; but no sooner return'd, and Crown'd, and finding his Kingdom in such a bad plight, his first work was to put some stop to the career of Papal incroachments: For the Pope having then summoned a General Council, he would not suffer his Bishops to repair to it, till he took a solemn Oath of them for their Loyalty, and good abearing: Then the Pope forbidding the King to War against *Scotland*, he slights his prohibition, and proceeds: The Pope demands the First Fruits of Ecclesiastical Livings, but the King forbids the payment thereof to him: The Pope sends forth a general Bull, prohibiting the Clergy to pay Subsidies to Temporal Princes, whereupon, a Tenth being granted to the King in Parliament, the Clergy refused to pay it; but the King seiseth their Temporalties for the Contempt, and obtained payment, notwithstanding the Pope's Bull: After this he made the Statute of *Mortmain*, that the Church might not grow monstrous in temporal possessions: In his time, one of his subjects brought in a Bull of Excommunication against another, and the King Commanded he should be executed as a Traitor, according to the ancient law, but the Chancellor, and Treasurer, on their knees begged that he should be only banished: He caused Laws to be made against bringing in of Bulls of Provision, and *Breves* of Citation, and made the first Statute against Provisors.

Statute of Mortmain first made

His

His Succeſſor King *Edw.* 2. being but a weak Prince, ſuffered the Pope to grow upon him, but then the Peers, and People withſtood him all they could, and when that unhappy King was to be depos'd, amongſt the Articles fram'd againſt him, one of the moſt hainous was, *That he had given allowance to the Pope's Bulls.*

After him King *Ed.* 3. a magnanimous Prince, couragiouſly reſiſted the Pope's incroachments, and cauſed the Statutes againſt Proviſors to be ſeverely put in execution, and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, and *Ely*, and Abbot of *Waltham* convicted, and puniſhed for their high contempts. Yet during the nonage of King *Rich.* 2. the Pope's Bulls, Breves, and Legats became very buſie, and daring again, whereof the People became ſo ſenſible, and impatient, that upon their ſpecial prayer the *Stat.* 16. *R.* 2. of *Præmunire* was enacted, more ſevere and penal than all the former Statutes againſt Proviſors: and yet againſt this King, as againſt King *Ed.* 2. it was objected, at the time of his depoſe, that he had allowed the Pope's Bulls, to the enthralling of the Crown. Stat. 16 R. 2. ca. 5.

After this comes a weak King, *Hen.* 6. and then another attempt was made, if poſſible, to revive the uſurped Juriſdiction; for the commons denying the King money, when he was in great wants, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the reſt of the Biſhops, offered the King a large ſupply, if that he would conſent, that all the Laws againſt Proviſors,

visors, and especially that of 16 *Ric.* 2. might be repealed; but the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who before had burnt the Pope's Letters, cauſed this motion to be rejected; ſo that all thoſe Laws, by eſpecial providence, have ſtood in force untill this day. All which, with the Reſolutions, and Judicial Judgements before ſpecified, founded upon the ancient, and good Laws of the Land, have enabled our Kings, at all times ſince, to vindicate the juſt Rights of their Crown. But King *Hen.* 8. deſigning a further Reformation, which could not be effected, whileſt the Pope's authority had any life in *England*, took this courſe; Firſt he writes to the Univerſities, the Great Monaſteries, and Churches in his Kingdom, and in particular *May* 18. 1534. to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, requiring them, as men of vertue, Integrity, and profound Learning, diligently to examine, diſcuſs, and reſolve a certain Queſtion of no ſmall import, *viz.* *An Romanus Epiſcopus habeat majorem aliquam juriſdictionem ſibi collatam in Sacra Scriptura in hoc regno Angliæ, quam alius quivis externus Epiſcopus?* and to return their Opinion in Writing, under their common ſeal, according to the meer, and ſincere truth thereof. To which after mature deliberation, and examination, not only of the places of the Holy Scriptures, but of the beſt Interpreters of the ſame, for many days, they returned Anſwer, *Jun.* 27. 1534. *Romanum Epiſcopum majorem aliquam Juriſdictionem non habere ſibi à Deo collatam in Sacra*

In Archivis Oxon. ad An. 1534. Antiq. Eccl. Brit. fo. 384. 37.

cra Scriptura in hoc regno Angliæ, quam alium quemvis Externum Episcopum. Conformable to which was also the Resolution of all the English Clergy. Upon which, and presently after, King *Hen.* 8. was by Parliament agnized Supream Head of the Church, in these his Dominions; whereby it was also Enacted, and Declared, That the King, his Heirs, and Successors Kings of *England*, should have and enjoy united, and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this his Realm, as well the Title, and Stile thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, Jurisdictions, *&c.* to the said Dignity of Supream Head of the Church of *England* belonging, or appertaining: with full power, and authority to visit, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all errours, heresies, abuses, *&c.* which Act, though much to the support of the Regal Authority, seem'd not suddenly to be approv'd by the King, nor before he had consulted with his Council, (who shewed him many precedents of Kings of *England*, that had used this power) and with his Bishops, who having fully discussed the point in their Convocations, Declared, That the Pope had no Jurisdiction in this Kingdom warranted by Gods word; suitable to what was Declared by the Universities, Colledges, and Religious Houses, with learned men of all sorts, maintaining it necessary that such a power should be extant in the Realm, for the Peace, good Order, and Government of the same; the Reasons, and Arguments of all

Stat 26 Hen. 8 cap. 1.

Lo. Herb. Hist. of Hen. 8 fo. 380.

which, were couched in a Book of the King's, about that time publiſhed, *De vera differentia Regiæ, & Eccleſiaſticæ poteſtatis*: whence alſo the Learned Biſhop *Andrews*, in his *Tortura Torti*, ſeems to have drawn diver aſſertions of the Regal Authority, to which the Reader is referred.

A practice this, I mean of conſulting the Clergy, and the Learned, in a caſe of ſo great an import, agreeable to former Preſidents, as I find in *Tho. Walſingham, In concilio cleri celebrato Londonius, aſſiſtentibus Doctoribus Univerſitatum Cantabrigiæ, & Oxoniæ, tractatum eſt de cenſu & obedientia Papæ ſubtrahendis, vel non ſubtrahendis.* And as King *Hen.* 2. profeſſed he would proceed, in the great cauſe depending between him, and his Archbiſhop *Becket*.

Tho. Walſing in An 1408. fo. 420.

Rog. Hoveden in Hen. 2. pa. prior.

Now when King *Hen.* 8. was by Parliament agnized Supream Head of the Church, within his own Dominions, and by him, for the reaſons aforeſaid, owned and accepted: what they meant by this, may well enough be collected from the premiſes, and from that notable Oration of *Stephen Gardiner*, of True Obedience, before mentioned: which Title, he neither took, nor the Parliament gave, in other ſence, than the French have always attributed it to their Princes; and what the Royal Anceſtors of King *Hen.* 8. himſelf aſſumed, under the *Homonymous* names of, Tutors, Protectors, Governours, *Domini, Chriſti Vicarii, Agricolæ, &c.* and the like.

Spelm. Conc. 437. Seld. ad Eadm. 1. 5. Leg. Edvard. &c.

And

And this is the Supremacy which the Kings of *England* have always claimed, and exercised within their own Dominions, with the temporary obstructions above mentioned: that is, in Soveraign way, to Rule and Govern all their Subjects, of what degree, and quality soever: to call their own Clergy, and Church-men together, and with their advice to see the Church reformed: and by Act of Parliament to have all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction restored and united to the Crown; as in the First year of Q. *Eliz.* was done, inlarged on before.

And here it will not be unnecessary to observe, and know, how that Restitution was resented by the Queen's Subjects at that time: And for that, observe (and observable it was) the general complyance, and complacence of the People in it; as also, that from the First, until the Eleventh year of that Queen's raign, no person of what persuasion of Christian Religion soever, at any time refused to come to the Publick Divine Service, celebrated in the Church of *England*, and established by publick Authority within this Realm: until the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus*, in the Eleventh year of her Majesties Raign, came out against her; whereby he deprived her of all her Right, Authority, Dignity, and Priviledge, in or unto these her Realms, and Dominions, and absolved all her Subjects of their Allegiance. After this Bull it was, that those who regarded the Pope's power, or threats, more

Coke's Rep. de rure Reg. Ecclesiastico. fo. 35.

than their Prince's juſt Authority, or their own Allegiance, refuſed to come to Church; and from that occaſion firſt acquired the ſtile of *Recuſants*. This gave riſe alſo to a multitude of treaſonable practices, and conſpiracies againſt the Queens life: taken up alſo againſt King *James*: continued againſt our late Soveraign, King *Charls* the Firſt: and ſtill fermenting, to break forth upon all opportunities to promote the Catholick cauſe: and all abetted by the traitorous Doctrine of *King-killing*, juſtified, and proclaimed to the World by *Bellarmin*, *Baronius*, *Mariana*, *Emanuel Sa*, *Allen*, *Creſwell*, and others both Natives, and Strangers: the conſequence whereof was this, That though Treaſon was always in the intention, yet (God be praiſed) nothing hath yet been brought to Execution, but the Traitors.

Vid. Camb. Annal.

Vid. Arth. Crohagans caſe in Crook. 1. Rep.

Con licenz', & con privilegio.

In this affair, I find a memorable Obſervation, of a grave Stateſman, That in the Indentures of ſubmiſſion of the Iriſh to King *Hen.* 8. all the Iriſh Lords did acknowledge him to be their Soveraign Lord, and King; and owned his Supremacy in all cauſes, utterly renouncing the Pope's Juriſdiction; moſt worthy of note (ſays he) in that when the *Iriſh* had once reſolved to obey the King, they made no ſcruple to renounce the Pope.

Sr. Jo. Davys Diſc. of Ireland. fo. 242.

Beſides theſe which have been experienc'd in our own Country, infinite have been the miſchiefs, occaſion'd in the World, upon this ſcore of Supremacy, and Dominion: and that

that by the mighty ſtrugling, and bickerings that have been maintained between the Papacy, and the Princes of the Earth, about the gaining, and keeping this Power. Beſides the general Obſervations, that a great means of the growth of the Turkiſh Empire, to its now formidable ſtature, hath been the Wars, and diſturbances, wrought upon this ground, amongſt the Chriſtians themſelves. Alſo the decay, and corruption of ſincere piety, and devotion, by the turning the current of Religion, out of its pure primitive channel, into the ſink of diſputes, and controverſies, about the Rights, and Bounds of Dominion; when Chriſt himſelf hath told us, *That his Kingdom is not of this world.* This cauſed Divine Religion to degenerate into Humane Policy: and upon this it was, that *Machiavel*, too truly, obſerved, That there was no where leſs Piety, and Religion, than in thoſe that dwelt neareſt to *Rome*; the main point of Religion there practiſed being how to draw this Prince, or that State, or Territory, under the Spiritual Dominion of the Pope, there eſteemed the very *Atlas* of the World, with power to depoſe, diſpoſe, and impoſe in all Kingdoms as he pleaſe. But for true Chriſtianity, *Hoſpinian* affirms, that the name of Chriſtian, in the Italian tongue, was uſed to note a Block-head, and a Fool. Add to this, the many Treaſons, Rebellions, Perjuries, Wars, and Commotions raiſed in Chriſtendom about this very quarrel.

Mach. Diſc. on Tit. Liv. lib. 1. cap. 12.

Platin in vita Greg. 7.

Hoſpin de Orig. Monac. li. 5. ca. 66.

And for this main drift of the Papacy for Dominion in all places, but now mentioned; it is visible, that the Pope's Supremacy is the foundation that supports the whole building of that Hierarchy; and therefore it hath been thought necessary by them always to lay that stone in the first place: As about the year 1594. the Bishops of *South-Russia*, being under the King of *Poland*, but of the *Greek* Church, submitted themselves to the Bishop of *Rome*, (in the point of Jurisdiction) yet not without special reservation of the *Greek* Religion, and Rites, before they would acknowledge their subjection; as appears by the Articles of conditions extant. Whereby it is manifest, that the Pope aim'd not so much to reduce those Churches to the Truth, as to his own Obedience. As the Emperours, and our Kings, *John*, and King *Hen.* 8. thunder'd against, only for impugning the Popes Supremacy, although they held all other points of Romish Religion.

Brierw. Inquir. cap. 18. fo. 138.

And, as the Papacy gained in this matter, in some places, and in some measure; so it lost much more in others, by straining, and aspiring to an unlimitted authority, *suis & ipsa Roma viribus ruit*. For when the Pope, and his Clergy endeavoured the advancement of their Soveraignty over the World; upon this occasion many Countreys fell away, not only from the Dominion, but also from many other corrupt Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. For when they perceived that the chief

chief ſtruggle, and deſign was for Temporal Greatneſs; that many concluſions tending to that end, were obtruded as Articles of Faith, ſo manifeſtly contrary to the Dictates of Chriſtianity, and prejudicial to the Rights of others: Then both Princes, and People, began to look into their Title, and examine their Evidences, and finding them all defective, and defeaſible, thought there was no other remedy, but quite to cut off that Power, that would not be confin'd: whereby this Image of Papal Supremacy became broken, and thrown down in many Countreys, and is but in a tottering condition in ſeveral others at this day: The Kings, and Princes of the Earth maintaining the juſt Rights of their Crowns, and Kingdoms againſt this Uſurpation, on theſe, and the like grounds, and reaſons, *viz.* That the Title, and Power of Kings is far more ancient than this pretended Spiritual Dominion, and *Quod prius eſt tempore, potius eſt jure:* and that in this ſence Grace deſtroyeth not nature; and Kings muſt not loſe by becoming Chriſtians. That Dominion is expreſly given in Scripture unto Kings, and is as expreſly denyed in Scripture unto the Clergy. That as the Pope claimeth, at beſt, to be but the Vicar of Chriſt, and that not as he was God; it is moſt certain that Chriſt never impeach'd, impair'd, or impos'd upon the Temporal Right of any man; the ſame Authority that Princes had, either by the Law of Nature, or of Nations, before his coming, the ſame

he left untouch'd at his departure; neither did any of the Apostles, or Disciples, after his recess, ever innovate in the same. That the Church in this world is not at home, but in a state of perigrinancy, and militancy; and it is neither Reason, nor Justice, that strangers should either expell, or domineer over the ancient Inhabitants, and *Melior est conditio possidentis*, as the Lawyers speak. That the proper Rights, and Qualities of Majesty, and Soveraignty, are to be both perpetual, and absolute, as not depending upon any other, nor subject to any exception, or restraint: That these Rights consist in managing affairs of the highest nature, which cannot be separated from the Soveraign Power, for upon the guiding of them, all the fortunes of a State depend: That nothing is of so high a nature, in a State, as Religion; for inasmuch as Religion commandeth the Conscience, and holdeth the soul in subjection, if supremacy therein be acknowledged in any forrainer, the very sinews (as I may say) of Soveraignty are cut asunder: And it is the most destructive Error in Policy, and Government, to allow to any other, a power of disposing, or declaring, in matters of Religion, either besides, above, or against the Prince himself: by which means any King, or Prince would soon be despoil'd of his Authority, and his Subjects drawn from their due Allegiance, upon pretences of Conscience, and Religion.

ςοιχεῖα βασιλείας Sacra Regni, Sacra sublimia.

Religio, à Religando.

But now, for a Conclusion of this Discourse, touching

touching the Kings Supremacy, it will be but pertinent, and reasonably expected, to clear one thing. *viz.* whereas upon restitution of that Right to the Crown, by the Statute made in the First year of Queen *Elizabeth*, some were induced to conceive, by the generality of the words, that affirm her Majesty to be Supream Governor, as well in all Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical causes, as Temporal, *&c.* as if it had bin an usurping upon the Sacred function of the Church, properly belonging to them in Sacred Orders. To give satisfaction in this, we may, in the first place, observe, in what Sphears, and in what distances, all the Divines agree that Ecclesiastical Authority doth move; and for our purpose at this time, *Bellarmine* shall suffice for all; who divides Spiritual Power, into that of *Ordinis*, and that of *Jurisdictionis*: For that of *Ordinis*, it appears chiefly in the Administration of the Sacraments: That of Jurisdiction is held to be double; First, Internal, where the Divine, or Holy man, by Demonstrations, Perswasions, Instructions, Heavenly Counsel, and the like, so convinceth the inward Conscience of a man, as it presently resigns, and yields obedience to that which is proposed; as did those Three Thousand Souls, which were converted at the Preaching of St. *Peter*. Secondly, External, when Christians, *in foro exteriori*, are compelled to their duty, and Obedience.

Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 22. s. 1.

Acts 2. 37, 41.

Now,

Now, for that first power of Order, and for that power of Jurisdiction Internal; our Kings never claimed, or pretended to claime, or exercise them, or either of them: The example of *Uzza* sufficiently lessoning all persons to keep within their due, and proper distances, and Offices, in God's service; this bold person being immediately stricken by the Divine Hand, for his error, and for his acting an irregular part in the holy Procession of the Ark. And that of *Uzziah*, a King indeed, proclaming aloud both the sin, and danger, in trespassing beyond the stated and just bounds, and limits in Religious Offices, whilst under his usurped Pontifical Robes, he wore a loathsome leprosie to his dying day, as a most signal mark of the Divine vengeance, for Exchanging his Scepter for a Censer, to offer up unwarranted, and noisome Incense. But (God be thanked) neither of these is the case of our Kings, who otherwise have taken for their patterns divers other Noble, vertuous, and Religious Princes, to whose Honour it is recorded, how, though they neither offered Sacrifice, nor Incense; yet that they cleansed the polluted Temple, reformed the corrupted Religion, and manners of their times, and caused *Judah*, and *Jerusalem* to serve the Lord. So ours never assumed to themselves a Power, or Authority of Preaching, Teaching, binding, or loosing *in foro animæ*, Administring the Holy Sacra-

2 Sam. 6. 7.

2 Chron. 26. 21.

Hezekiah, Josiah, &c.

craments, conferring Orders, or any thing in particular properly annexed to those Orders: But only in matters External, that is, of Jurisdiction external (the last Branch of Ecclesiastical Authority) and what belongs to the outward Polity of the Church, they look upon it as their duty, and honour, to become Nursing Fathers: to see that the true God be publickly worshipped: to see that Atheists, Polytheists, and all such as break the Moral, and eternal Law be Corrected, chastised, and restrained; upon which account it is often said, that *Rex est Custos utriusque Tabulæ:* To see that good and wholesome Laws be made, and established for the good government of the Church: That both the Church, and Church-men be regulated, and defended in their respective Rights, Possessions, Interests, and concerns; and that such as do transgress the lawful constitutions of the Church be duely punished: and to this purpose the Regal Office is thus described in King *Edward's* Law, *Rex, quia vicarius Summi Regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum, & populum Domini, &, super omnia, Sanctam veneretur Ecclesiam ejus, & regat, & ab injuriosis defendat.* And much to the same purpose in those of *Ina*, *Canutus*, and others. And hence it also is that in those Laws we often find the Prince extending his Commands unto the same things the Priest did his Exhortations.

Leg. Edv. Confes. cap. 17. fo. 142.

Jo. Brompt. Coll. 761 923. &c.

And

And thus, the premiſes conſidered, it plainly may be collected wherein the *formalis ratio* of our King's Supremacy, and Eccleſiaſtical Authority doth conſiſt; which, being inherent in their Crowns, they do, and may at all times put in practice, *ſine ulla labe Chriſtianitatis*, and without praying the Aid of any forraign Power, or Potentate whatſoever.

And further, to anticipate all prejudice, and Scandal in this matter, Queen *Elizabeth*, in the ſame year of the Reſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to her Crown, did declare, ſhe did not challenge any other authority, then was challenged, and lately uſed by King *Henry* the eighth, and King *Edward* the ſixth, which is, and was of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this Realm: that is, under God, to have the Soveraignty, and rule over all manner of perſons within her Realms, and Dominions, *&c.* And for the Oath of Supremacy appointed by the ſaid Stat. 1 *Eliz.* whereby her Highneſſe's Supremacy was Declared in the ſtile aforeſaid; It was Declared in a Statute made the next Parliament, That the ſaid Oath ſhall be taken, and expounded in ſuch form as is ſet forth, in an Admonition annexed to the Q. Majeſty's Injunction, *&c.* At which time alſo a Synod being held, for avoiding of diverſity of Opinions, and eſtabliſhing of conſent touching true Religion, *&c.* It did expreſly declare, That they did not give to our

Admonitions annexed unto the Injunctions. 1 El.

Sect. 5 El. Ca. 1.

Artic. 37.

our Princes the miniſtring of God's word, or the Sacraments: But only that Prerogative as is given in the Holy Scriptures by God himſelf, *viz.* That they ſhould rule all Eſtates, and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical, or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil ſword the ſtubborn, and evil doers, *&c.* And the Articles of this Synod were likewiſe confirmed by Parliament. So that now no man need doubt, but that all this was but acknowledgement, that what our Kings, and Princes had done in former Ages, might lawfully be continued by their Royal Succeſſors: and that therein they did not uſurp upon the Rights, and Offices of others, but only maintained their own: and that all theſe Declaratory, Supervening Statutes, paſſed and Enacted upon the moſt weighty Reaſons of State, were not Introductory of any new Law, but only Aſſertory of the juſt Rights, and Prerogative of the Kings, and Crown of *England*. Like as a Reformation once made in the ancient *Roman* Empire, by the Emperour *Antoninus Philoſophus*, is thus celebrated by *Julius Capitolinus* in his life, *Jus autem magis vetus reſtituit, quam novum fecit.* Applicable, as well to all the other points, and branches of the Reformation here, as to that of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. But the clearing that I leave to the Divines.

Stat. 13 Eliz. cap. 12.

Jul. Capitolin. vit. Ant. h. n.

And

And thus have taken a brief view only (for much more might have bin added out of our authentick Records, and Hiſtories) as of the ancient Rights of Kings, and Princes in general, ſo particularly of our own in matters Eccleſiaſtical: How the ſame have, for ſome time, been ſuppreſſed, and uſurp'd upon by the Papal Faction, but happily Vindicated, and reſtored in theſe latter Ages: In which affair no Country hath proceeded more regularly, laudably, or legally, than this our Kingdom of *England*; the Princes of the ſame, as Supream within their own Dominions, calling together their own Clergy, and with their aſſiſtance, and advice reforming the Church. And what remains now, but my ſubmiſſion, and pardon, for the preſumption of this attempt upon my Soveraign's Supremacy: ſeeing that Prince may be ſaid, in a manner to be depoſed, that is made the Subject of an uſurping Pen.

FINIS.